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FRAGMENTS
FROM THE
Papers of Bishop John Ettwein.

(EDITED BY THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.)

FIRST COLLECTION.
MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE AND SCRAPS OF HISTORY.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE interesting personality of Bishop Ettwein and the inestimable service which he rendered the Moravian Church from the time of his arrival in America in 1754 to his death in 1802 would alone warrant the publication of most of these fragments supplementary to the biography of him contained in Volume II. of the Transactions. They reveal his wide and varied acquaintance, his multifarious relations and activities, his capacity to handle the greatest variety of affairs and to deal with the most divergent classes and dispositions, opinions and prejudices, his combination of integrity and finesse, simplicity and astuteness, his constant readiness to be of service to all men in things momentous or trivial, his untiring devotion to the work of the Church, and his unostentatious piety.

But besides this, the correspondence, even that which treats of comparatively unimportant matters, leads into attractive little bypaths of local and general history, introduces many interesting public characters as visitors to Bethlehem and Nazareth and warm friends of the Church at a time when it was so generally misunderstood, shows the position taken by its leaders towards various religious and political movements and reveals the estimation in which the ecclesiastical, educational, industrial and social features of the Brethren's settlements, especially the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth were held by intelligent, representative Americans a century ago.

The correspondence with Henry Laurens, together with cognate matter, and several other more lengthy and important historical papers must be reserved for future publication as a second collection. The matter herewith presented has been put into print without any change in spelling, capitalization or construction of sentences; so that the letters of men of a hundred years ago may be read exactly as they wrote them. A classification of the letters or an arrangement in chronological order being impracticable, they are given in the alphabetical order of the names of the correspondents or of the topics, without regard to the contents.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. DAVID
AUSTIN ON A PROPOSED CONCERT
OF PRAYER. A. D. 1794.

CIRCULAR LETTER SENT TO ETTWEIN.¹

REV. MR. ETTWEIN—

Sir,

We have taken the liberty of forwarding for your perusal an INVITATION to the Ministers and Churches of every Christian denomination throughout the United States, to unite in an attempt to carry into execution the "humble Attempt" of President Edwards to promote explicit agreement, and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and

¹ For several reasons this circular letter, preserved among the papers of Bishop Ettwein in the Archives at Bethlehem, is considered sufficiently interesting to warrant its re-publication in this collection.

It is probably one of very few copies now to be found treasured at the places to which they were sent together with a letter from one of the signers of the document.

It issues from the period in which the first general interest in the evangelization of the heathen began to manifest itself among English speaking people, and reveals, like this latter movement, the bright and hopeful signs of those times with which we usually associate religious decadence, aggressive infidelity and rampant immorality.

It recalls the fact that overtures looking to Christian union are not a new thing, that there have been intelligent and earnest men at all periods who labored to this end. The Scottish memorial of 1746 referred to was sent out just a century before the founding of the modern Evangelical Alliance (Aug. 19-23, 1846), and was one of various similar efforts running back to the middle of the sixteenth century when Calvin wrote to Cranmer on the desirability of healing the divisions among Protestants. The attitude of Ettwein, the most conspicuous representative of the *Unitas Fratrum* in America a hundred years ago, towards the attempt made by the authors of the circular is worthy of note, as characteristic of his Church which had always held the ideas and entertained the sentiments conveyed by the document. The

the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth, pursuant to scripture promises and prophecies concerning the last time: founded on Zachariah viii, 20, 21, 22 verses—*Thus saith the Lord of Hosts it shall yet come to pass that there shall come people and the inhabitants of many Cities: and the inhabitants of one City shall go to another saying; Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts; I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem and to pray before the Lord.*

The attempt of President Edwards to unite Christians of all denominations in public and in secret prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and for the full and speedy accomplishment of the promises and the prophecies of the Latter-day Glory,

first tangible fulfillment of Calvin's desire came to pass six years after his death when the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* was adopted by a union Synod held at Sandomir in Poland in 1570 by representatives of the Unitas Fratrum, the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church and maintained for many years by the Brethren and the Reformed, the leading parties to the first Evangelical Alliance. Now after the lapse of two and a quarter centuries the Brethren's Church which had begun its work in America by trying to bring about an Evangelical Alliance, five years before Jonathan Edwards' "Humble Attempt," is approached again by representatives of Calvinistic Churches with an invitation to a concert of prayer with a view to healing divisions. Ettwein answers in the fraternal spirit of his Church, but at the same time in the consciousness that it does not need to be wooed and won to principles which it has always advocated and which were embodied in its government, liturgy, internal institutions, methods of evangelization and attitude towards other religious bodies.

The significance of the call to a concert of prayer, as a religious movement of the time, appears in the distinguished names which figure in the document.

Joseph Sewell and Thomas Prince were collegiate pastors of Old South Church, Boston. Dr. Prince, who was eminent as a historian, antiquary, linguist, physicist and hymnologist, and who was honored in the name of the Prince Society of Boston, founded 1858, has been called "the most learned scholar, with the exception of Cotton Mather, in New England."

Samuel Nott was Congregationalist pastor at Franklin for the almost incredible period of 71 years and died in 1852 aged 98 years. He was a brother of the Rev. Eliphalet Nott who lived to be 93 years old.

Samuel Spring, father of the venerable Dr. Gardiner Spring, who from 1810 to 1873 was pastor of "the Brick Church" in New York City, was a chaplain under Benedict Arnold, carried Aaron Burr from the field wounded, was a leader of the Hopkinsian party and one of the founders of Andover

originated in a memorial upon the subject sent over from Scotland and signed by twelve ministers about the year 1746. The Author of this attempt which was first published in America and lately in England, labors to persuade the Churches and Ministers of Christ to come into this union and concert of prayer for the following weighty considerations. [Then follow eight considerations urged to the effect that the promises of the Latter-day Glory are yet unfulfilled, that Christians are encouraged to unite in prayer for what Christ prayed and suffered for and promised, etc. with a reference to the united prayers in days of old at the solicitation of Daniel and of Esther. Referring further

Theological Seminary and of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

Samuel Stillman, one of the founders of Brown University and a member of the Massachusetts Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788, was one of the leading philanthropists and most famous preachers of Boston.

Jedidiah Morse, father of Samuel Finley Breese Morse of electromagnetic telegraph fame, was a foremost opponent of the Hopkinsians and as such one of the founders of the compromise Theological Seminary at Andover, was a leading defender of orthodoxy against the Unitarians and an earnest advocate of measures for civilizing and christianizing the Indians. Dr. Morse was the author of the first work on Geography published in America, in 1784 (the same year in which Carl Gotthold Reichel, later a Bishop of the Moravian Church, who in 1785 became the first Principal of Nazareth Hall on its present plan, prepared for the press his German work on Geography, for many years a text-book in Moravian schools,) and subsequently issued three other geographical works, which won for him the title of "the Father of American Geography." In 1805 he started "the Panopolist" which survives as "The Missionary Herald."

Samuel Hopkins was the originator of the modified Calvinism, known as Hopkinsianism, which created an epoch in New England Theology, was one of the earliest advocates of the abolition of slavery in the United States, and first broached the idea of civilizing and christianizing Africa by carrying back emancipated slaves to that country and colonizing them there.

David Austin, of Elizabethtown, who sent the circular letter to Ettwein, ran into vagaries on the Second Advent of Christ shortly after that time and even ventured to prophecy its occurrence in May 1796. He was in consequence dismissed from the ministry of his Church, but twenty years later, having abandoned his delusions and "returned to sound doctrine," was reinstated as a Presbyterian pastor.

to the efforts of President Edwards fifty years before, the circular continues:]

Under *these views* a number of Ministers being by the Providence of God assembled at Lebanon for the purposes of carrying on the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom * * * * did readily express their opinion and agree to unite their exertion in favor of an attempt to carry the object of the memorial in favor of which he wrote into full and permanent effect. In execution of this plan it was proposed that the Ministers and Churches of every Christian denomination should be invited to maintain public prayer and praise accompanied with such instruction from God's holy word as might be judged proper on every *first Tuesday of the four quarters of the year*: beginning with the first Tuesday of January 1795 at 2 o'clock afternoon, if the plan of concert should then be ripe for a beginning—and so continuing from quarter to quarter, and from year to year, until *the good Providence of God prospering our endeavors* we shall obtain the blessings for which we pray:—or until by delegation or council from the Ministers and Churches in concert (as may hereafter be provided) it shall be signified that good and sufficient reasons are found for discontinuing the concert.

It was also agreed that the Ministers present, as well as those who may hereafter discover a willingness to aid in the execution of this plan, shall consider it as their duty to invite their Brethren in the ministry to join with them in furthering the objects of this concert; and by every lawful means labor to promote the prosperity of Zion in this matter. And when it is thought a sufficient number of Brethren of different denominations have signed this paper to give the plan efficacy; it was determined that this proposal with the subscribers' names should be printed in a circular letter and be sent abroad for the final and permanent adoption of the Ministers and Churches disposed to favor the plan.

And in aid to the foregoing it was thought proper to add an extract from the preface of President Edwards' "Humble Attempt" written by five ministers of Boston and prefixed to that work Anno Domini 1747. The signers are Joseph Sewell, Thomas Prince, John Webb, Thomas Foxcroft, Joshua Gear. [Then follows the extract together with one from the second

edition, 1789, signed by John Sutcliff, after which are appended twenty-three signatures, viz.—

Timothy Stone, Min. of Christ at Goshen, Con.
Zebulun Ely, do. Lebanon
Levi Hart, do. Preston and one of the
 corporation of Yale College.

Samuel Nott, Min. of Christ at Franklin
Walter King, do. Chelsea
John Gurley, do. Exeter
David Austin, do. E. Town, New Jersey
Joseph Strong, do. Norwich, Con.
James Coggeswell, D.D. do. Windham, Con.
John Whitney, do. Brooklyne, one of the corpora-
 tion of Yale College.

Andrew Lee, Min. of Christ at Lisbon.
Nathanael Emmons, do. Franklin.
Stephen Gano, do. Providence.
Masa Shepard, do. Little Compton.
Peter Ph. Roots, do.
David Avery, do. Wrentham, Massa.
Thomas Andros, do. do.
Calvin Chaddock, do. do.
Herman Dagget, do. Southampton, L. I.
Solomon Morgan, do. Canterbury, Con.
Isaac Backus, do. Middleborough, Massa.
Jonathan Wilder, do. Attleborough, do.
Joseph Snow, do. Providence.]

The circular then continues :

AND now Rev. Sir, If you should think proper to add your name, and possibly procure the names of such ministers of Christ within your District as may likely be disposed to favor, and to recommend the plan you will greatly oblige the interests of the proposed Concert, and in the end, we trust, in bringing great glory to God.

If you will by letter signify to either of the gentlemen hereafter named your approbation, and success in this matter at or before the 1st day of Nov. next you will enable the agents for the Concert to forward another circular letter, containing the

whole recommendation that may then have come to hand; and which will be accompanied with an invitation to you and to your Church permanently to adopt the plan of Concert; all which we hope may be done by first Tuesday in January or the farthest by first Tuesday of April 1795. The persons nominated as Committee of Correspondence who will receive advice and Transmit the same to the subscribing agents are Rev. Samuel Spring *Newburyport*, Rev. Doct. Stillman *Boston*, Rev. Jedediah Morse *Charleston*, Rev. Stephen Gano *Providence*, Rev. Doct. Hopkins *Newport*, Rev. Massa Shephard *Little Compton*, Rev. Samuel Austin *Worcester*, Rev. Walter King *Norwich*, Rev. Timothy Stone *Goshen*, Rev. Nathan Strong *Hartford*, Doct. West *Stockbridge*, Doct. Edwards *New Haven*, Doct. Lewis *Greenwich*, Doct. Rogers, Doct. Levingston, Rev. Mr. Foster or Rev. Mr. Pilmore *New York*, Rev. Mr. Austin *E. Town*, Doct. Green *Philadelphia*, Doct. Davidson *Carlisle*, Rev. William Graham *Lexington*, Doct. Keith *Charleston*, Rev. Thomas Reese *Salem*, Rev. Silas Gildersleve *Midway*.

FROM these Gentlemen accounts are humbly solicited as soon as convenient respecting the success of the present proposal; that measures may be taken to spread abroad the plan of Concert as soon as possible under the united influence of all the recommendation which the well wishers to Zion may be disposed to give it.

IMPLORING the blessing of heaven to rest on the plan; and fervently soliciting the aid of all pious Ministers, that success may attend it—we subscribe as organs of communication—as temporary Agents for the Interests of the Concert.

WALTER KING.

DAVID AUSTIN.

Norwich, (Connecticut) Sept. 1794.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF AUSTIN TO ETTWEIN ANNEXED TO THE CIRCULAR.

ELIZABETH TOWN Septemb^r 7th 1794

Respected Friend,

Being not unmindful of the very friendly treatment receive^d from you when at Bethlehem two years past, I have thought proper to address to you the present circular

letter asking your concurrence in and recommed^a of the concert for prayer. The bearer waits and I must conclude.

Will you favor me with a line on the subject by the return of M^r Richards who is conducting two young Ladies to your care.

With sentiments of great esteem
I subscribe yr friend and Brother
in the Gospel of Christ Jesus,

DAVID AUSTIN
min: of Christ at E. Town.

Rev. Mr Etwine

ANSWER OF ETTWEIN TO AUSTIN OCT. 9, 1794.

Rev^d and dear Sir,

Your favour by M^r Richards with the printed Address from such a number of Servants of Christ, gave me lively Joy. It was as if I heard David say "O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love Thee." We have the promise of Christ that where two or three agree to pray for something in his Name they shall be heard, and we can be assured that the proposed prayer will be pleasing unto him.

As I have not time to communicate the letter to my fellow-labourers before the return of M^r Richards I can only answer for myself: I promise faithfully and regularly to appear with my prayer before the Throne of Grace at the Day and hour which shall be agreed upon, and will make my beginning the first Tuesday in January next and continue so every first Tuesday of the four quarters of the year, and will encourage my Brethren to do the same. But I cannot promise such a public prayer as is proposed. We have at Bethlehem and at all our settlements every week one such a meeting of Intercessors for the advancement of the Kingdom of God and the destruction of the Works of the Devil. We pray God in our Church Litany: to rule and lead the holy Christian Church, to increase the knowledge of the Mystery of Christ and diminish misapprehensions. To make the word of the cross universal among all those who are called by his Name. To unite all the Children of God in one Spirit. To preserve unto us his Word and Sacraments pure unto the end of days. That we as Christ's members be joined together in Unity and truly love one another. That God over all

blessed forevermore may have mercy on his whole creation and be the Saviour of all men.

May God pour out the Spirit of prayer upon his whole militant Church in these last perilous times more than ever.

With Love and Esteem

I am Rev^d Sir

your humble Br in Christ

JOHN ETTWEIN

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS² TO ETTWEIN.

Sir.

Permit me, in the absence of the Governor, to introduce to your acquaintance M^r. Liancourt (formerly Duke de Liancourt) who is about to prosecute a tour through the interior of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Any information which you can communicate to him, and attention that you may be pleased to shew, will confer a favor on the Governor, as well as on me.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Reverend Sir,

Your most obed Hble Serv.

A. J. DALLAS.

Phila., 15 June 1797.

The Right Rev^d Bishop Ettwein

Bethlehem and Nazareth.

HENRY DRINKER³ TO ETTWEIN.

.PHILAD. 8th 8 mo. 1791.

Esteemed Friend,

A Friend of mine in New York, Ann Bingham, is very desirous of placing her Daughter Ann, now about 11 or 12

² Mr. Dallas, who at this time was Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under Governor Mifflin, took the lead in encouraging European capital as well as labor into the State to develop its resources, and made special efforts to show wealthy or influential foreigners the most attractive spots in the interior. There are evidences elsewhere that he took particular pride in the settlements of the Brethren at Bethlehem and Nazareth.

³ Drinker, whose ancestors had been oppressed in Old England by

years old, at the Seminary for the education of Girls at Bethlehem. —The Mother, who is descended from a Noble family in England, seems pressing that her Daughter should be speedily introduced under the Discipline and Oeconomy established by the Brethren respecting the rising Generation of her own Sex, and in this matter it is much my wish, she may be gratified. Godfrey Haga⁴ I find apprehends the number of Girls placed at Bethlehem is complete, and fears there is not at present room for the introduction of the person above mention'd—However if the earnest request of her Mother can be complied with, I trust our Friend Jacob Van Vleck⁵ and thyself will strive to oblige her and me in this matter, and in that Case I wish to be inform'd of the terms and rules of the Brethren on this Occasion. To receive an answer by the next Stage or some speedy conveyance will be taken kind by thy assured

Friend

HENRY DRINKER

Parson Ettwein

Churchmen and in New England by Puritans, shows his Quaker principle in discarding the practice of the former and calling a Bishop plain "Parson," but likewise the spirit of the latter in recognizing a Bishop as a friend. Ettwein, whose Church had also suffered the intolerance of both extremes, and who in the meaning of St. Paul was "all things to all men," speaks of Drinker elsewhere as "my valued friend."

⁴ Godfrey Haga, grocer at what is now 239 Race St., Philadelphia, and an officer of the old Moravian Church on Race Street, whose noble legacy to "the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" so greatly increased the resources of the Church for prosecuting mission work, served at this time as agent of the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Sketches of him may be found in "Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants" by Stephen A. Winslow, and in the pamphlet entitled "The Centennial Anniversary of the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" (1887) by the late Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz. Mr. Townsend Ward, in his interesting papers on "North Second Street and its Associations," makes the following mention of him (Penna. Mag. IV. 172) "Out of Second Street, but near at hand, on the north side of Race Street near Third, at the old No. 87, Godfrey Haga, about 1778, established himself as a grocer. His success in business was considerable, and he became an importer of German goods. He afterwards lived, first at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets and subsequently in the "Gothic Mansion" built by John Dorsey, on the north side of Chestnut Street, east of Thirteenth."

⁵ Second Principal of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, 1790—

ETTWEIN TO DRINKER.

Esteemed Friend,

I received your favour of Aug. 8th when I was at Lititz on a Visit. Some Weeks before I had a few lines from M^r. Lewis Ogden at Nyork in favour of Miss Bingham, like yours for her admission into the girls school here. Upon application in her behalf to the Inspector Jacob Van Vleck the Lady got an answer and her daughter is expected sometime next Month, by which her own and your desire is granted. The Lady has been informed of the Terms and Rules on which scholars are received, as I have no copy at hand you will excuse my not sending them on this occasion, M^r. Meder⁶ or M^r. Haga can communicate them to you. I am with love and esteem

your known Friend

J. ETTWEIN

Beth 27th Aug.

1800; second Principal of Nazareth Hall, 1802-1809; Moravian Bishop, 1815; died at Bethlehem, 1831; a son of Henry Van Vleck, the New York merchant, father of Bishop William Henry Van Vleck and grandfather of Bishop Henry J. Van Vleck.

⁶ At the time pastor of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, where he labored 1785-99 and again *ad interim* 1813-14. He was born at Randen in Livonia, December 2, 1740, joined the Moravian Church when a lad of fifteen years in the school at Gross Hennersdorf, studied in the Theological Seminary at Barby, served as a teacher, as editor of the *Gemein Nachrichten* and as spiritual overseer of young men in Germany and England; 1773 went as missionary to the West Indies, came to Pennsylvania 1782, was stationed not only at Philadelphia but also in New York, at Lititz, at Nazareth, at Hope, N. J. twice, being the last minister there, 1808; while finally living at Nazareth was a member of the General Helpers' Conference and died April 18, 1818, at Bethlehem. A portrait and reminiscences of him are given in the "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia" by Abraham Ritter.

ALBERT GALLATIN⁷ TO ETTWEIN.PHILADA. 4th May 1796

Sir

I have been requested by my friend General Douglass⁸ the Prothonotary of Fayette County in this State, to try to procure admission for his daughter Sarah Douglass in your Seminary—I am informed that so many applications are made to you that very often young girls are not admitted till two years after they are entered. This regulation, however just in itself, would be exceedingly inconvenient when applied to a person living beyond the Allegheny mountain at a distance of 300 miles, where there is no regular stage or mode of travelling and when, therefore, a long journey must be undertaken not only by the young person, but also some other to take care of her upon the road—Under these circumstances, they would not attempt to set off without having some certainty and assurance of her being admitted upon her arrival—I wish, therefore, it was possible for you to accommodate so far your rules to the present case as to fix a precise time at which she might be admitted—say as an instance, that if she was to come next fall she would be received—Your answering by post will much oblige me, and your compliance with my

⁷ Gallatin, who after graduating from the University of Geneva, his native place, had come to America in 1780, fired with democratic sentiments, to participate in the great struggles of a new country, founded New Geneva in what later became Fayette Co., Pa. where he had located at the suggestion of Patrick Henry, and for many years had his home there. This distinguished statesman, financier and scholar who served as Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, was Ambassador to Paris and Minister to England, was one of the Commissioners in the treaty of Ghent, was the first President of the American Ethnological Society and has been characterized as, of all men in America next to Franklin, deserving the title of a citizen of the world, was at the time when he wrote this letter, though only 35 years old, in Congress helping to fight for the right of that body to examine state papers in the hands of the President and his cabinet. He died in 1849.

⁸ General Ephraim Douglass, of Uniontown, Pa., a letter from whom has been published in the Pennsylvania Magazine, IV. 247, in reference to military affairs at Pittsburgh in 1781, containing an allusion to the Moravian Indian towns on the Muskingum in Ohio, and of whom the story is told that in 1809, having visited Gen. St. Clair in the log cabin on the summit of the Chestnut Ridge in which the famous old soldier passed his last years and died in poverty, he presented him with \$100 and wrote on the back of

request would confer a real obligation upon General Douglass and myself—At all events I wish her to be entered for admittance and remain with great respect

Sir

Your most ob^t
& h^e Servant

ALBERT GALLLATIN.

I meant to give this letter to my friend M^r. Eyerly, but believe I will send it by post as it will reach you sooner.

ETTWEIN TO GALLATIN.

17 May 96.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

I receiv^d your Letter of the 4th of May in favour of Sarah Douglass. Please to accept my being absent at that Time on a Visit in Staten Island as an Apology for so late an Answer.

I communicated the Letter to the Rev. Jacob van Vleck the Inspector of the School with my best wishes for a favorable Answer. As there is no Age of the Child mentioned his answer to the question is: In Spring 1797, and not before can Sarah Douglass of Fayette County be admitted into the School, provided she is about that Time passed 9 years old and not above 14 years of Age. The Inspector is much troubled with applications and as some parents are not punctual to send for their Daughters at the Time promised, he finds himself often disappointed. But General Douglass will (God willing) not be disappointed if he brings or sends his Daughter next Spring.

I am with due Esteem

Honored Sir

your Humble Servt.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

the note which St. Clair insisted on giving him; "Never to be demanded. To save the feelings of an old friend I accepted this receipt after refusing to take an obligation." Principals of schools could easily decline, in those days of little competition, to be constrained by influence to accommodate their regulations or to confer special favors. The name of Sarah Douglass appears in the catalogue of the school for 1797, with the statement that she became the wife of Daniel Kellar.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH SYLVESTER W.
GARDINER AND HIS SON JOHN
GARDINER OF BOSTON.⁹

JOHN GARDINER TO LAWRENCE NYBERG.¹⁰

HAVERFORDWEST, [WALES] Tuesday afternoon, 1768.

Dear Sir:

I am just now honoured with your most polite Letter in answer to mine of yesterday. I return you many Thanks for your Intention of doing what in you lies towards forwarding a Settlement of the Brethren upon the River Kennebeck. I did

⁹ Both the elder and the younger Gardiner were men of note. Sylvester W. Gardiner, physician, anatomist and pharmacist of Boston, was proprietor of part of the "Plymouth Purchase" on the Kennebeck River, induced many Germans to settle in that region and founded the town of Gardiner in which the present city of Gardiner, Me. arose, not far from where the Broad Bay Settlement was located in which the Moravian Evangelists Hahn, Herr and Söelle, especially the latter, labored for a time, and which furnished the nucleus of the congregation of Friedland, N. C. He was a strict churchman, edited and published a prayer-book, founded the first episcopal church in the present State of Maine and helped to build King's Chapel, Boston.

He remained a Tory, went to England when the Revolution began, came under the proscription and suffered the confiscation of about 100,000 acres of his immense estate, returned to America after the war and died at Newport, R. I., in 1786.

His son, the Hon. John Gardiner, born 1731, studied law and was admitted to the bar in London, was a particular friend of Churchill, Wilkes and others of their profession, appearing for them as counsel in court, practiced in Pembroke, South Wales, with his home at Haverfordwest, and there became acquainted with the Moravians, especially with the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg. He went to the Island of St. Kitts as Attorney General in 1766, leaving his young son, John Sylvester, who later became rector of Trinity Church, Boston, (the church of Phillips Brooks), in the Moravian School at Fulneck, England. He returned to the United States in 1783. While a member of the Massachusetts legislature he again appeared as a friend of the dramatists in moving the repeal of the statutes against theatrical entertainments. He was a leader in the early Unitarian movement in

not propose to write to my Father or my Brother relative to this matter till the Directory had determined something about it. Part of this Estate will (according to the natural Course of Things) one Time or other be mine; and if the Brethren should settle there, they shall never find me a bad Neighbour. In regard to your Opinion of my Sentiments, in Matters of Religion; I think better of myself for cherishing that Opinion, since it has

Boston (conf. remarks on religion in his letter to Nyberg) and helped to convert King's Chapel, of which his father had been one of the founders, into a Unitarian Congregationalist church. He was drowned while on a journey in 1793.

The Bethlehem Diary contains the following notes of his visit in 1783:

June 6.—John Gardiner, Esq., who has rendered substantial assistance to our missions in the West Indies, especially in St. Kitts and Antigua, visited us on his way to New England and brought us letters from our Brethren Braun in Antigua [Peter Braun, missionary, W. I. 1769-91, descendants of whom are living in Bethlehem] and Gottwald in St. Kitts.

June 7.—Mr. Gardiner and other gentlemen from Boston attended the services.

June 12.—Bro. Ettwein accompanied Mr. Gardiner as far as Nazareth, on his way to Boston.

It was chiefly at his instance that the founding of a mission on the Island of St. Kitts (1777) was taken into consideration. Bishop Martin Mack, writing from St. Thomas, mentions an interview with him on the subject in 1775, and speaks of him as a very highly respected man, and the first missionaries in St. Kitts, Gottwald and Birkby, report special favors at his hands.

Among the literary curios in the Archives at Bethlehem is a copy of a little publication, evidently presented to Bishop Ettwein by Mr. Gardiner, and containing his autograph, entitled "SOME BRIEF HINTS OF A RELIGIOUS SCHEME, taught and propagated by a number of Europeans in a place called *Nisqueunia*, in the State of *New York*, WRITTEN BY VALENTINE RATHBUN, Minister of the Gospel. HARTFORD: Printed and sold in the year 1781."

The tract refers to the Shakers under Ann Lee, and their first settlement in America in 1776, in the forest about seven miles northeast of Albany, N.Y., (Niskayuna) on the land secured by John Hocknell, one of their number.

This memento helps to reveal the peculiar interest which Gardiner took in all kinds of religious societies.

¹⁰ Laurentius Thorstansen (or Theophilus) Nyberg, born in Western Gothland, educated at the University of Upsala, was ordained to the Lutheran ministry by the Swedish Archbishop Jacob Benzelius, came to America in 1743, located as the first settled Lutheran pastor at Lancaster, Pa., in 1744, ministering there and in the neighborhood with zeal and success. He befriended the Swedish Moravian minister, Paul Daniel Bryzelius, when the latter was driven from his field in West Jersey by the intolerant Magister Naesman, in 1744, and defended the Brethren at a Conference of Swedish

obtained your Approbation. I have always thought *that every man had as good a natural Right to differ from me in Opinion, in Regard to religious Matters as I had to differ from him.*

To convince you of my good Opinion of the Brethren, I have determined that my little Boy (now near 3 years old) shall be placed among the Brethren in Yorkshire for a few years, provided they will take care of his Education, but this is *inter nos*. M^{rs} Gardiner joins in best Wishes and Compliments to M^{rs} Nyberg and Yourself with your most obliged and sincere

J. GARDINER

LAWRENCE NYBERG TO THE UNITY'S DIRECTORY
[THEN IN LONDON.]

Counsellor Gardiner with his best compliments to the Brethren, begs Leave to add the following to his former Proposals; viz.

The River Kennebeck abounds with *Sturgeons* to such a Degree that they often overset the Canoes.

One of the greatest Merchants in London has applied to the Counsellor's Father, residing near Kennebeck River, to send him as much *cured Sturgeon* yearly as possible, the more the better. The Art of *curing* being unknown there, the Counsellor applied

Lutheran clergy in Philadelphia, in May of that year. In 1745 he joined the Union Synod, instituted in 1742 at the call of Henry Antes, of Fredericktown, (then a member of the German Reformed Church), to carry out Zinzendorf's idea of uniting all denominations in a "Church of God in the spirit." This step and his affiliation with Spangenberg, when the latter was mobbed in Lancaster, awakened such hostility against himself that after continuing to minister a while longer to a friendly minority he was constrained, in 1748, to unite with the Moravian Church. In 1752, having gone to England to labor there, for reasons satisfactory to all concerned and seeming under the circumstances to be valid, he was ordained a Deacon by a Bishop of the Moravian Church in London, though it had been decided at the Synod of 1748 to admit ministers regularly ordained in other Churches as in Deacon's orders. His case constitutes the only one of the kind on record. In 1754 he was ordained a Presbyterian. (See Moravian History, 1734-1748, by L. T. Reichel.) In England he served the church in London for a while, then succeeded the Rev. Ludolph Ernest Schlicht in the charge of the new congregation at Bristol, with Kingswood, Bath and Trome as affiliates, having Anthony Seifert (one of the Moravian pioneers in Pennsylvania) and others as assistants. In 1763 he located at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, South Wales, and established the congregation there on the foundation laid by the evangelist John Cennick. In 1768 he was called to Leominster, where he labored till 1773; then he removed to Bath. He died in England.

to Mr. Templeman, Secretary of the Society for encouraging Arts and Sciences in London, to offer a Premium for discovering the Secret, but as yet without Effect. Now as cured Sturgeon is imported from the *Northern* Countries (the Counsellor thinks from Russia) as we have already Settlements there, he presumes the Brethren may obtain that Art, and if they should chuse to settle in Massachusetts-Colony, he engages they shall have the best Land on the River, where they may command the Sturgeon Fishery, and make thousands of Pounds by that one single Article yearly, without running the least Risque.

N. B.—The Sturgeon is cured in a certain Pickle, and cannot be dried like Cod Fish, etc.

By Pot-Ashes a great deal of Money is also made there. If the Brethren should desire particular Information (besides what Hutchinson's History offers) relative to the Charter, Laws, etc. of that Colony; the Counsellor offers to write to Mr. Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade, whose Brother was Governor of Boston, who should give every Satisfaction in his Power.

And in Case the Brethren should chuse to send any Brethren to inspect and view the Land; the Counsellor offers to send a Letter by them to his Father to give them the Preference. His Father has several Saw Mills and also small Vessels on the River, in order to facilitate the Settlement and assist the Colonists.

I started some Difficulties in Regard to the first Charter being revoked, and its affecting the Validity of the first Grant of King James I. on which the Counsellor's Father and his Compagny rest their Claim. Also the Province-Laws relative to Religion—the Grant and Meaning of the *present* Charter granted by William III. etc.

But the Counsellor is perfectly clear in every Point, that should it otherwise be thought proper, the Brethren would be every way quite safe.

NYBERG

CHRISTIAN GREGOR, IN THE NAME OF THE UNITY'S
DIRECTORY IN EUROPE, TO THE CONFERENCE
AT BETHLEHEM, DEC. 1768.

Mr. Gardiner, a counsellor at law, recently offered to secure us a tract of land on the Kennebeck River on which a township with the necessary farms etc can be laid out. Upon considering the matter in our Conference the question occurred to our minds

whether this might not result in an establishment for our friends who live in Broad Bay and have thought of removing to Wachovia in order to live near to the Brethren. With this idea in view the worthy Wardens' Conference at Bethlehem is requested to take the matter into consideration, and if the project seems feasible to communicate their suggestions to us in detail. Bro. Ettwein has been in Broad Bay and himself inspected the condition of things there.

The Kennebeck River cannot lie far from there and if in this way the friends in Broad Bay could better themselves externally and at the same time a settlement of the Brethren could be established on the Kennebeck River something would again be accomplished in the service of our Saviour.

The Brethren will therefore please investigate the matter further, and report to us as soon as possible, and then further steps can be considered.

Bro. Nyberg will in the meantime get the above mentioned Mr. Gardiner to write to his father about the matter, in order that the latter when communicated with by the Brethren may know what his son had offered them.

EXTRACT—THE REV. BENJAMIN LA TROBE, LONDON,
TO BISHOP NATHANAEL SEIDEL, BETHLEHEM.

LINDSEY HOUSE Oct. 22, 1768.

Having heard last night that letters would go soon this morning to Pennsylvania, I gave Bro. Wollin a letter from Counsellor Gardiner to his father at Boston to transmit to you, together with instructions from the Directory about it which he will transcribe out of mine.

ETTWEIN TO S. W. GARDINER.

Sir,

The enclosed letter was sent to the United Brethren settled at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania by some of our people in England desiring us to send, if possible two Deputies to the Kennebeck River to view the country there and to see whether a settlement on that River was advisable, and if found feasible to apply to you one of the owners of said land, for the conditions of a settlement there.

We don't know how soon we can send somebody that way, so we will not detain the letter which, as we understand, is from your son.

If the Gentlemen would favor us with a few lines about the conditions and encouragement given by you to the settlers we should take it very kind, and a letter may be directed to the care of Mr. Daniel Benezet at Philadelphia. One thing I must mention, viz. we always choose to live together as near as possible in a Body, on account of the Meeting places and other reasons conducive to a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty. We belong to "the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren commonly called Moravians."

I am Sir
your Humble Serv^t
JOHN ETTWEIN.

Feb. 4, 1769.

S. W. GARDINER TO ETTWEIN.

BOSTON April 14th, 1769.

Sir

Your favours of the 4th of February (Inclosing one from my son in England) never came to hand till yesterday, acquainting me that the United Brethren of Bethlehem by the desire of some of their Brethren in England were about to send two Deputies to the Kennebeck to View the lands there and to see whether a Settlement was Feasable for some of their Brethren, and as you are desirous to know the Terms or Conditions of Settlement I here Inclose you an advertisement Published by our company Six Years ago, since then there has been so great a run of People to that country that whether they will continue to give now quite so large a quantity of land to each Family is a little uncertain, but you may depend the Deputies will receive all due Encouragement from the Company—for whom I am

Your most Obedient and very
Humble Serv^t

S. W. GARDINER

[The letter of John Gardiner from England and the advertisement referred to have not been preserved. The negotiations seem to have ended when the Broad Bay colonists removed to North Carolina, in 1769-70, before they heard of the new plan, and not to have been renewed until after the Revolution.]

JOHN GARDINER TO ETTWEIN

BOSTON, October 7th 1783.

My worthy good Friend!

Since I had the Pleasure of seeing you in June I have taken a long Tour thro the States of New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Newhampshire and the West and East Parts of the State of Massechussetts, and have but lately returned to this Town, from *Kennebeck*, where I spent 5 Weeks with my Brother, who has very splendid possessions there—I am now petitioning our General Court for large Possessions there, which my Father left there when he forsook his Country, and placed his Trust in George the Third of Great Britain. If I succeed, as I hope I shall, I shall be happy to have the Brethren near to me on the Kennebeck. I spoke to your Brother *La Trobe* years ago, about a settlement on that River, when I was in England & before I went to the West Indies:—I did then expect to have been in Possession of a considerable Tract of Land there years before this—I long to have a Church of the Brethren in that Country, where at present they (the white People, who call themselves *Christians*) have no place of worship nor any appearance of Religion, but live without God in the world—I wish you would engage about 3 Barrels of the best Shellbarley for me, & send them to Philadelphia to my Friend M^r *Peter Kemble*¹¹ who will immediately pay for the same—He will be found at Archibald McCall's¹² in Second Street Corner of Pine Street, or Spruce Street, I do not now recollect which—I shall be very thankfull

¹¹ Son of Richard Kemble, some time British Vice Consul at Smyrna. He was educated in England, began mercantile life in Amsterdam, made several voyages to the Levant and Africa, and later settled at New Brunswick, N. J. He was for many years a member and part of the time President of the Provincial Council of New Jersey. His wife was Gertrude, daughter of Samuel Bayard. He died at his country seat, "Mt. Kemble," near Morristown, N. J., aged 90 years. He seems to have visited Bethlehem and become acquainted with Ettwein. He is described as "a handsome man, of polished manners, a good Latin scholar, and well read in history."

¹² Archibald McCall, with his brother Samuel, engaged in the East and West India trade, in which he amassed a large fortune, married Judith, a daughter of Peter Kemble. He seems to have executed commissions for the Brethren at Bethlehem at various times. He and his wife were among the leaders of fashionable society in Philadelphia. Townsend Ward says of him, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, IV, 48: "In 1762–63 [*i. e.*, when he married

if you will do me the Favour to write a Letter to me, and send it to Mr *Kemble* in *Philadelphia* who will send to me, by a Brig that will be soon coming here from there—I am to beg the favor of you to get me Models, in Wood, made of your Saw Mill, and your oil Mill, your Mill for shelling oats and grinding oatmeal, and also of your Mill for cutting Bark for the Tanner, all which are at Bethlehem.¹³ If you have an ingenious Workman who will make these Models for me, I will pay Him whatever shall be thought reasonable—The Models ought to be upon a scale of about half an inch to a Foot of the original. Will you be so obliging as to let me know if you can get any one to execute this for me, and at what cost, and how soon? I earnestly hope I shall be able to get a model of the curious Grist Mill at *The Hope*;¹⁴ Enclosed is a Letter to your Brother Culver¹⁵ there,

Judith Kemble] Archibald McCall, the India merchant, built a house, still standing at the corner of Second and Union Streets. Its garden extended a considerable distance down the latter street, and was well stocked with various animals brought by his supercargoes from foreign parts, so that it was in a manner our first zoological garden."

¹³ At that period the manufacturing and other industries of Bethlehem were far in advance of those existing in any other place in the United States outside of the few largest cities on the Atlantic seaboard. Very interesting references to them are to be found in the entertaining little volume entitled "An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1799; with a succinct History of the Society of United Brethren, commonly called Moravians. By John C. Ogden, Presbyterian in the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States."

He mentions the grist mill, describing some of its ingenious appliances, the fulling mill, with its water wheel and reservoir, the bark mill, stating that "the bark is delivered in such a state from the works that it might be easily packed in casks for transportation, or an essence be extracted by chemical process," the tannery, the saw mill, the oil mill, the grain-hulling and snuff mill, the brewery, the pottery, the textile manufactories, the water-works, the laundry, the dairy with its churning machine, the apiary, the pharmacy and the botanical garden.

¹⁴ Hope, in Oxford Township, Sussex County, (now Warren County,) N. J., founded as a regular church settlement, on the model of others then existing, in 1774, on land purchased of John Samuel Green, where a less completely organized station, called Greenland, had existed since 1769. (See Vol. I, Transac. Hist. Soc., p. 51.)

The mill was built on Paulin's Creek, in 1770, planned and supervised by Christian Christiansen, of Bethlehem, the ingenious machinist and millwright who erected the waterworks at Bethlehem, the first in the country.

asking his assistance to procure me such Model—I expect to own several Streams which run into the Kennebeck, and having the best models, I can put up the best Mills for as little expense

That there was anything peculiar in the construction of the mill, as the letter seems to imply, records do not inform us. Mr. Gardiner evidently considered it superior to any he had ever seen elsewhere. The Hope mill was an important establishment during the Revolution. It is recorded that in January, 1778, a hundred weight of its flour cost \$20. In June of that year its entire stock of flour and wheat was seized for Continental stores. The first miller was John Heckedorn, who plied his avocation only half a year, and was succeeded by Daniel Hauser, the miller of the revolutionary years. He was the youngest son of Martin and Margaretha Hauser, whose numerous descendants so largely peopled Bethania, N. C., that this place came to be dubbed Hausertown (pronounced in North Carolina Hoosertown) and is so known to this day.

Daniel was born in Conewago County, Pa., and was married June 8, 1772, to Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew and Barbara Meyer. One of the later millers was Richard Whitesell, grandfather of the late John Whitesell, manager of the old Bethlehem and Philadelphia stage line, and a son of Andrew Whitesell and his wife Margaret, m. n. Green, a sister of John Samuel Green.

¹⁵ Ephraim Culver, who at the date of this letter was inn-keeper at Hope, and also baker for the village; for did not the committee which presided over the destinies of the community give him explicit orders to sell fifteen "Lebkuchen" for one shilling to Frederick Leinbach in the store? He was the son of Ephraim Culver, Sr., erst of Connecticut, who, with his family, stood in friendly relations to the Moravians laboring at Sichern; removed to Smithfield, Township, Monroe County, Pa., in 1753, and built himself a house and a mill on McMichael's Creek, near the site of Stroudsburg; with his family fled from his home on account of the Indian outbreak, December 11, 1755, and took refuge in Nazareth. He was at various times landlord of "The Rose," near Nazareth, and of "The Crown Inn," on the south side of the Lehigh River, at Bethlehem, and died at Bethlehem, 1775. The younger Ephraim Culver, who is referred to in this letter, was born in Connecticut *circa* 1741, learned the trade of carpentering, and after the hegira from "over the mountains" served an apprenticeship under Hartman Verdries, the miller at Gnadenthal. In 1769, before he located at Hope, he carried on a bakery in the large stone house in Bethlehem, in which in more recent times the late John F. Wollé kept the congregation-store. He was married to Magdalena Lanius, of York, Pa., in 1770. She died at Hope, leaving four children:

Ephraim, born at Bethlehem, 1773.

Elizabeth, " " " 1776.

William, " " " 1778.

Jacob, " " Hope, 1783.

His death and burial occurred at Shoeneck in 1804.

as I could put ordinary Mills—My best Love and good wishes
attēd you and all the Brethren at Bethlehem and elsewhere,
and I remain your much obliged and faithfull Friend

J. GARDINER.

P. S Your Brother *Otto*¹⁶ as I think his Name is—the Physician
or Doctor at Bethlehem cures the Bite of the Rattle-snake—He
shewed me some Roberts' Plantain which he used in the Cure—
Now I should be exceedingly obliged to Him if he would give
the Receipt or proper mode to cure a Person bit by a Rattle-
snake as it may save the Lives of many wretches and poor

¹⁶ The fact that two Ottos, brothers, both physicians and surgeons, figure in the early history of Bethlehem, Nazareth and other settlements, and that both are continually referred to in the records as merely Dr. Otto, tends to confusion. They were sons of John Bernhardt Otto, physician and surgeon at Meiningen, County of Henningen, Principality of Saxe-Meiningen, and his wife Christina, m. n. Carl.

The elder brother, Dr. John Frederick Otto, born at Meiningen, August 9, 1712, studied at Jena and Halle and obtained the degree of M. D. at the latter place. In 1740 he came into contact with Moravian evangelists in his native place and under their influence was spiritually awakened. After the sudden death of his father he visited the Brethren's settlement of Herrnhaag, in 1742, and the next year proceeded via Herrnhut to Gnadeck, an estate of the Count of Promnitz, in the castle of which the "Pilger-Gemeine" (Count Zinzendorf's itinerant company) was sojourning at the time.

There, in 1743, he was received into the Church, and on August 17 of that year was married to Anna Maria Weber, from Frankfort on the Main. On September 7, 1743, he started with his wife to Holland, where he attached himself to the company of one hundred and thirty-three persons, called "the second sea congregation," which set sail on the ship *Little Strength*, Capt. Garrison, from Cowes, September 27, landed at New York, November 26, and reached Bethlehem, December 6. He officiated as physician of the company, and is mentioned among the officers of the sea congregation. He became the first established physician and surgeon at Bethlehem, where his wife died April 4, 1749. His second wife, to whom he was married June 25, 1750, was a daughter of John Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia, Judith, who came to Bethlehem in 1741, and was married July 10, 1742, to the missionary David Bruce, who died 1749. Dr. Otto was ordained a Deacon of the Church August 18, 1754. After seventeen years of faithful service at Bethlehem, Nazareth and the neighborhood, he was transferred to Lititz in October, 1750. (See *Transac. Hist. Soc.* II, 356.) In 1763 he returned to Nazareth as resident physician, where he remained until his death, December 31, 1779. On account of the very deep snow and the extreme cold his remains could not be interred until January 4. His widow removed to Bethlehem January 22, 1780, and made her home in the Widows' House,

Children who are very subject to be bit at Milton and about the blue Hills, within a few Miles of this Town—The children are often stung when they are gathering Huckle-berries—I would assist them & administer the medicine to them without Fees or Reward if I rightly knew what it was.

ETTWEIN TO JOHN GARDINER.

John Gardiner Esq^r at Boston.

Jan^r 15th 1784.

Honord & D^r Sir,

I received your Favour of the 7th Oct^r and was very glad to see by it that you & your Son not only arrived Safe at Boston but that you also had a good Prospect to obtain the Land on Kennebek River where you kindly wish to see a B^{ms} Settlement made. I am sure it would be a Benefit to that Country and a Blessing to such as have a Love for Religion, but

where she died January 27, 1786. He had two children by his first wife, a daughter, Anna Dorothea, who died in early childhood, and a son, Joseph, who was born at Bethlehem, April 4, 1745, married Anna Mary Horsefield, a daughter of Timothy Horsefield, at Bethlehem, January 28, 1774. He also became a physician and surgeon, and succeeded to his father's practice. Dr. John Frederick Otto, and not Dr. John Matthew Otto, as erroneously stated in a foot-note (Trans. Hist. Soc. II, 26), was the great-grandfather of the late Prof. Henry I. Schmidt, of Columbia College, and of Edward Otto Smith, merchant, of Philadelphia.

The younger brother, Dr. John Matthew Otto, was born at Meiningen, November 9, 1714, studied first with his father and then at Augsburg, entered into his father's practice about 1740, at the time of the great awakening accompanied his brother, his brother-in-law, Koch, the surgeon Arnold, and others, in all about twenty persons, to Herrnhaag, but returned home. In 1746 he again followed them and united with the Church. In 1750 he came via Holland and England, with a company of about sixty persons, to America, reached Bethlehem, July 8 of that year, and at once entered the service of the Church as physician and surgeon at Bethlehem, he and his brother, John Frederick, being for a while located here together. He was married at Bethlehem, September 7, 1753, to Joanna Sophia Magdalena Dressler, daughter of the foreman of a brass foundry at Grünen, Schwartzburg, where she was born, January 1, 1726. She came to America with Bishop John Nitschmann's company of one hundred and twenty-five persons on the *Irene*, in May, 1749. She died at Bethlehem, February 25, 1776. Dr. Otto married again, October 28, 1778, his second wife being Maria Magdalena Schmidt, who was born in the Palatinate, November 22, 1735, reached America a lone orphan (both parents, with their other three children, having died on the voyage), was taken in charge by the Bœckels of

I don't know how it is, it seems for the present as if the Brⁿ were quite disabled to make new Settlements, we can hardly find proper Subjects for those already begun.

I could not get any quantity of shelled Barley, the Mills could do very little on account of the drought we had & whether it would suit you to send any in the Spring I don't know. I sent your Letter to M^r Coulver at Hope. My desire to hear him and M^r Leinbach there about the Millwork is the Cause that I could not write to you as soon as I wish'd to do.

I have enquired of our Millwrights about the Modells of the Mills mentioned in your Letter, there was none that would undertake it. M^r Leinbach was willing to make one of the Mill in Hope, but would not fix a Time to compleat it and said for less than 3 or 4 half Joes¹⁷ he could not do it. A Draught for a Mill-

Heidelberg, former friends of her parents; came thus into contact with the Brethren, and in 1748 moved into the Sisters' House at Bethlehem, as one of its first inmates. She died April 18, 1784, leaving Dr. Otto a second time a widower. On August 7, 1786, he was stricken with paralysis and died at Bethlehem, August 9. The record states that "he served the congregation and surrounding neighborhood for thirty-six years with great faithfulness, by the Lord's help performed many difficult cures, and was held in high regard. He was a sincere lover of the Lord Jesus and of His Church, yea he was a philanthropist." This is the Dr. Otto referred to in Gardiner's letter. The following were his children, all by his first wife:

Christian Frederick,	born at Bethlehem,	December 18, 1755;	died young.
Sophia,	" " "	August 30, 1756,	" "
John Matthew,	" " "	February 9, 1762,	" "
Rebecca,	" " "	April 30, 1765.	
Sophia Magdalena,	" " "	April 12, 1769.	

Rebecca was married at Bethlehem, October 25, 1791, to the woolen weaver, Gottlieb Braun (Brown), a son of the West Indian missionary, Peter Braun. Their children were John, born December 12, 1792; Matthew, born November 20, 1794; Rebecca, born December 22, 1797; Maria and Fredericka, twins, born December 2, 1800, and Thomas Otto, born October 16, 1802.

Sophia Magdalena was married at Bethlehem, July 17, 1796, to Dr. John Frederick Rudolphi, a son of George Christopher Rudolphi and his wife, Maria Elizabeth, m. n. Weidiger. Their children were: Sophia Frederica, born June 6, 1797; Charlotte Amelia, born July 25, 1800; Carl August, born December 26, 1802; Caroline, born May 31, 1804; Maria Elizabeth, born July 2, 1805; Henrietta Augusta, born August 16, 1806; Lydia, born November 16, 1807.

¹⁷ The Half-Joe, or Joannes, was a Portugese gold coin, brought into circulation probably through the East India trade. Ettwein's letter indicates the value of Pennsylvania currency at that time, the coin being worth about \$8.60.

wright of the Mill in Hope, they would not engage for less than £3 *i. e.* one half Joe. and M^r L. thinks a Plan for an undershot Mill would very likely better suit your streams than an overshot. I'll use my best Interest to get Draughts made of the Mills at Bethlehem, during the Winter.

Dr. Otto cured the Bite of a Rattle Snake in the foll. manner he takes Root and Herb of Roberts Plantin¹⁸ (Cæsar's Antidote) or only the Herb and makes a Decoction or Thea of it and gives it the Person bit to drink. The Herb from the Decoct. he takes and rubs the Leg downward to the Wound but it must not be laid on the Wound, green Leaves are better than dried, this is the whole Process.

ETTWEIN TO ARTHUR LEE,¹⁹ ESQ.

Sir,

I receiv'd your favour of Dec^r 4th by M^r W^m Henry. A desire to gratify you with something relative to the language and customs of the N. Indians was the cause of my long silence. I

¹⁸*Plantago Lanceolata* or *angustifolia*, originally introduced from Europe, but now growing wild in great abundance in many localities.

John Parkinson, "*Apothecarye of London and the King's Herbarist*," treating of the virtues of this plant in his "*THEATRUM BOTANICUM, the THEATER OF PLANTES, OR AN UNIVERSAL AND COMPLEATE HERBALL*," London, 1640, says: "The juice mixed with oyle of Roses and the temples and forehead anointed therewith, easeth the pains of the head proceeding from heate, and helpeth franticke and lunaticke persons very much, as also the bitings of Serpents or a madde Dogge. * * * Briefly all the Plantanes are singular good wound herbes, to heale fresh or old wounds and sores, either inward or outward.

"*Erasmus*, in his *Colloquia*, reporteth a prettie story of a Toade, who being stung or bitten by a Spider, sought out Plantane, and by eating thereof was freed from that danger."

If all the plants to which this virtue is ascribed by the old herbalists really possessed it, none would ever need to die of serpent's fang or spider's sting.

Qu.—Is "Roberts Planta" a mere phonetic corruption of Ribblewort Plantain, the English name given the narrow-leaved varieties by the oldest botanists?

¹⁹ Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners to France with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane in 1776, much written about on account of his dishonorable intrigues against his colleagues, was a Commissioner to treat with the Indians of the Northwest in 1784, and a member of the "Board of Treasury," 1784-89. This correspondence must have occurred at some time during those years. Unfortunately, Lee's letter to Ettwein has disappeared.

have since in my leisure hours looked over some Diaries and Relations of our Missionaries among the Indians & made a short abstract of their observations and specimens of their language of which I hereby send you a copy. Your remarks about the Indian name of a Whale made me enquire whether the Delaware Nation had knowledge of that creature in olden times, or whether they only knew of it by description, and I was informed that their Nation knew of a Whale before white People came into this Country, that their forefathers had lived far East or N. E. wards where they saw these animals, the name m'beeachk signifying a Water-Spout, and by the account of some Indians Whales were seen upon the Long Island or Jersey Coast, perhaps before there was so much whaling. Some Seneca Indians knew of the Greenlanders, described their dress &c. calling them Seal or Sea Dog Eaters. I suppose they meant the Esquimaux. In the Spring of 1765, 2 April, Seals or Sea Dogs were shot by the Indians high up in the Susquehanna river, and so by some accident a Whale or Whales may also have happened to come so far West or South.

I am with due Esteem,

Honored Sir

your willing obed^t Serv^t

JOHN ETTWEIN

The Honorable Arthur Lee Esq^r

one of the commissioners for the Board of Treasury of

the U. St.

at

New York

SEARCH FOR WELSH INDIANS PROPOSED BY ETTWEIN.

"In the Complete History of England published by T. Smollet at London, Vol. I, Book 2, page 338, it is said that 'A.D. 1171 when there was a civil war among the Sons of Owen Quinett, Madoc, one of the Brothers, resolved to abandon his native country, and having equipped a few ships, sailed with his adherents in quest of some new habitation, then steering westward, arrived at an unknown land which was in all probability the coast of America. There he founded a settlement, and re-

turning gave such an advantageous account of the country that a great number of families were persuaded to follow his fortune, (*vide* Powel's History of Wales) and with these he set sail in ten ships for his infant colony. This settlement must have been destroyed in the sequel, and in all likelihood the second embarkation perished at sea, otherwise they could not have been so entirely cut off from all communication with their Mother Country but that some kind of correspondence would have been maintained, or at least some vestige of them remained on the spot, where they fixed their habitation.'"

[To the above extract from Smollet by Bishop Ettwein, is added a note to the effect that this colony went from Pembrokeshire. What now follows, appended to the extract is presented in translation, having been written by Ettwein in German.]

Thirty years ago I heard a tradition in North Carolina that Indians had come to New Orleans who had words from the Welsh language, and that far up the Mississippi stone tablets with inscriptions had been found. In the year 1738 a report came to North Carolina that an invasion of hostile Indians had occurred on the Ohio in Kentucky, that the inhabitants had pursued the Indians and taken several of them prisoners, that on a certain rainy night a Welshman set to guard the prisoners scolded about the Indians in his native tongue, that one of the prisoners thereupon sprang up and greeted the Welshman as his countryman, that he [the Indian] informed him [the Welshman] that he had left his nation, which lived only six days' journey from Detroit, and gone out to look at the country, when he fell in with this war party, accompanied them and was taken prisoner, and that his nation [or tribe] yet possessed written records.

As it would be worth while to seek out such Welsh Indians, if such a nation really exists in North America, I worked out a scheme for a searching expedition as follows :

a. The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen should undertake it and engage for the purpose one of its missionaries with a few Christian Indians who understand the language of several other tribes.

b. Besides these it should endeavor to secure several unmarried Brethren from Wales who can speak both English and Welsh.

c. An effort should be made to secure a pass or recommendation for this party from the Governor at Detroit, and a message from a Delaware town and from a chief of the Chippewas recommending them to their neighbors, as well as a letter of credit which would enable them to secure necessary supplies from the most remote traders.

d. The company should start from Pettquotting [Huron Village] or Sandusky, after gathering information in reference to the chief town of the Tribe living next to the Wyandots and Chippewas. Then they should inquire for Indians who understand and speak languages other than their own and take one such with them to the nearest tribe which they might suspect were perhaps descendants of these Welsh. In this way it would appear before they had traveled beyond 1000 or 1500 English miles, whether such Indians existed or not. Bro. Marschall²⁰ wrote that these Indians were said to live about the source of the Missouri.

That civilized people have lived on the Muskingum River appears very probable from the remains of old fortifications discovered there.²¹ Whether they were exterminated by the natives or penetrated farther into the wilderness and perpetuated their nationality is what we wish to ascertain. If there is such a race and they are discovered there is reason to hope that they may gladly embrace the gospel. The reason why I would propose Welsh Brethren for the purpose is in order that they may introduce themselves and enter into conversation with every Indian tribe that has its own language. If the party should find such Indians they might try to get several of them taken to Wales, or at least brought before Congress to prove the fact, and this would constitute indisputable evidence that the English were the original discoverers of America. It might be that the Spaniards for this very reason drove them so far back from the sea coast that they should become and remain entirely forgotten.

²⁰ Frederick William von Marschall, President Southern Provincial Board, Moravian Church, Salem, N. C.

²¹ Some of the most interesting works of the "Mound Builders" are to be found along the Muskingum, Sciota and Miami Rivers in Ohio, and the regions drained by these streams are particularly rich in other remains of a race more advanced in civilization than any tribes found on the continent by the white man.

e. The expenses of such an expedition might be met by subscriptions, perhaps in Wales, and the Episcopal Society²² would perhaps contribute something. It would probably cost several thousand pounds, including presents to various Chiefs.

At the Synod in 1789 I communicated this project to Bro. Wollin, Bro. Steinhauer and others. No attention was paid to it however by any one but Bro. Steinhauer, who sent me a list of Welsh words from Wales.

²² The Church of England Society for Propagating the Gospel.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. WILLIAM
SMITH, D.D.²³

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rev^d and Dear Brother,

Your very acceptable letter came safe to my hand in course, and it rejoices me much to enjoy such an epistolatory interview with a Bishop of the Church which has frequently "resisted unto blood," which has with "kneeling," "praying" and "abundance of tears" both night and day, held up an unconquerable evidence for the truth delivered to the saints, against all the fiery darts of the evil one and the persecuting measures of the Roman Church.

To the glory of His grace who hath tried your Fathers in affliction's furnace, and now at length in His abundant mercy hath vouchsafed rest to their Sons, be this ascribed.

Not only do I feel myself interested in the happiness of "all that call upon the NAME of the Lord Jesus Christ" in general, but similarity of condition in many respects betwixt the Church

²³ Born at Aberdeen, Scotland, 1754, and educated at the University of that place, came to the United States as a Deacon of the Church of England in 1785, was Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., 1790-97, and died in New York City April 6, 1821. He was one of the organizers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Rhode Island, and published "Offices for Induction of Ministers into Parishes," "Essays on the Christian Ministry," "Chants for Public Worship," and other works. He was a nephew of Dr. William Smith, who is associated in history with the Philadelphia Academy, out of which grew the University of Pennsylvania, with the organization of the P. E. Church in Maryland, and with the "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer, at which he did the principal work.

Some letters having been lost, this correspondence is not consecutive.

of the United Brethren and that part of the Household of Faith in which I received my ordination, the Church in Scotland, naturally claims my warmest attachment. Our sufferings till within 20 or 30 years ago, were numerous, the overflowings of ungodliness well nigh made us exclaim "all men are liars," till we saw that our Episcopacy (though annulled as far as acts of a British Parliament can) could be perpetuated under every penalty and prohibition; that tho' our churches were either taken from us or burnt, and our Hierarchy driven from place to place, all this at the instigation of Popery on the one hand and fanaticism on the other—together with the perils arising from the false brethren—yet the time hath arrived, our Bishops, Priests and Deacons are no more "driven into corners"—the eye of the Church beholds them with gladness. The penal Laws were taken off June last year, and the immunities of free Denizens of the Kingdom restored by the Civil Government. As the Church is the Spouse of Christ, whenever her love for Caesar commences, her danger of affliction is great—therefore, and for 10,000 other causes and considerations, it appears highly expedient that the Church and State should be never blended, as the case now is with the Church and the Civil polity of England. Any religious establishment is by its own nature subversive of the true nature of Christ's kingdom which is not of this world; and always whenever the interests of the State and the Spirit of Revolutions in Governments require it, the Church in that case if even apparently connected with the State, or under any apprehension of interfering with its concerns, shares the lot of its Master—who, if we understand or believe the meaning of the superscription on the cross, suffered neither for promulgating new doctrines nor abrogating the Law of Moses, but *purely* on a political account—for Pilate and Herod were thereby reconciled, for before they were at enmity between themselves.

I am happy there is no prospect in view at present of any Religious Establishment in these States, but there are many who tell us one great view a certain order of men had who originated and fomented the quarrel with the Mother Country, was to obtain thereby supremacy for their own Community. In such a case I should think it the duty of every Episcopal Society to join in prayers to God, and use every prudent measure

and argument with men to prevent such an appropriation of Religious Liberty.²⁴

I ought to beg your pardon good Sir, for being so tedious, and now one word or two on business.

Mrs. MacKay in this place (the aunt of Miss Hunter)²⁵ requests me to inform your Reverence that as she has two boys and a girl, grandchildren, with her (their Mother is in Georgia) and wishes to have them put to some Academy where their morals may be secured while their instruction advances—the girl about 11, the boys, one 9 and the other about 7—and inquired whether you could admit them some time this ensuing fall, and on what terms.

Pray, Sir, if it would not give too much trouble, send me a Bill of the several Articles of Tuition, together with their respective rates, if any wearables are afforded and the rates per annum—in one word every item and the attendant expense. Please God, next Summer, if I can by any means accomplish it, I have serious thoughts of bringing you one of my sons, if you can find room for him in your Academy.

By Miss Hunter's letter to Mrs. MacKay, I learn that she is perfectly satisfied at her place in your Academy. I expected to have heard from herself all the particulars before this, but perhaps she defers giving me that pleasure from the punctilio that "I ought to write her first," the which now I have done and request you to be so kind as to convey it to her. I hope she will

²⁴ Among Ettwein's papers of this period is the following, without date or signature, which was sent to him :

"Copy of a letter sent to the President of the United States.

Sir,

The United States will never be at peace at home or abroad as long as the Calvinists teach that the Church of Rome is Anti Christ, or expect to coax the Almighty to give them the control over the nations by bringing on the millennium. Infidelity and sedition result from this ambition.

The Right Rev^d the Bishop of the Society of United Brethren

Bethlehem

Pennsylvania."

²⁵ Catharine Hunter, whose name appears in the catalogue of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem for 1790, probably a daughter of Dr. Wm. Hunter, the first lecturer on anatomy in America, who was the father of Senator Wm. Hunter, famous in connection with the Missouri Compromise, and grandfather of Captain Charles Hunter of the U. S. Navy.

upon every occasion manifest the docility of her mind, and improve under the instruction of your Seminary. Her situation at present in regard to her Mother and family is big with expectation of various kinds, one while made to expect her Mother and sisters here, next, letters suggest the probability of being soon sent for to England. All these things have very much engaged Mrs. Smith and me in her favour, and indeed they entitle a girl of her inexperience to much sympathy and attention.

I bow to receive your Episcopal Benediction and add my best salutations to your church, tho' unknown.

I remain

R. & D. Br.

Your most affect. friend

Newport

& very humbl Serv^t & Br.

7th July 1790.

WILL. SMITH.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

4th July 1791.

Rev^d and Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive as tokens of your friendship and brotherly love, two fine fruits of your diligence and zeal to promote religion, for which I herewith return you my hearty thanks. May our dear Lord bless them to many Souls. They are a Witness and proof that you are not ashamed of the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as many learned men in our day are, who dare not confess but rather deny that He is the Son of God, Jehovah our God.

Our Bro. Fr. Schmidt²⁶ has payed us a Visit, and is now returning once more to Newport. We recommend him anew to your love and friendship. We will pray for one another that we may continue to be faithful labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord and that He may be with us and bless our Testimony.

I am with sincere love and esteem

Rev^d & dr Sir

yours

Rev^d W^m Smith, Newport.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

²⁶ See note, page 87.

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Right Reverend & dear Sir,

Your much esteemed favors saluted me in course & I heartily thank our heavenly Father for the continuation of His preserving care over you and all the faithful with you.

It gave me great pleasure that my little publications have met your approbation. However imperfect they may seem in the eye of the unregenerate man of the world, or of the self-inflated critic (full of reasonings), by the Divine help they are what they are—and if they or anything else that may come from my pen are productive of any good, I claim no higher share of a recompense, than the privilege of ascribing all the glory to God.

For some time past I have been employing some leisure hours in composing some critical and historical Dissertations on such parts of the Scriptures which in our Translation do not fully quadrate with the Hebrew and Greek Originals.

This, (if ever it sees the light) is more intended for the benefit of the young Clergyman than that of the Layman—indeed I fear few Laymen would take the pains to read it—the temper of Galio being so prevalent among them—“caring for none of these things.” But whether people will hear or whether they will forbear, it behooves the faithful Minister of Jesus Christ to make it manifest that there is a prophet among them. Having no proper Library here, my progress is much impeded—nevertheless I go on tolerably well. This is a task partly imposed on me by our Bp Seabury.²⁷

²⁷ The mention of Bishop Seabury's name recalls the momentous conjunction of events at that period in the matter of church-organization in the new American States, especially on the part of the clergy and parishes maintaining their connection with the regular Anglican communion on the one hand, and those who were following the lead of John Wesley on the other hand, with the Moravian Church, which had its Bishops and its regular organization in the Colonies fifty years before this time, not essentially affected by the changed status after the Revolution, standing between the two in peculiar relations to both, in correspondence with both in reference to the religious situation and outlook, and warmly interested in the plans and movements of both. A copy of the record of the Scottish succession from which Seabury got his consecration in 1784, and a copy of Wesley's letter to Dr. Coke and others, written from Bristol, September 10, 1784, in which he announced the appointment of Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury to be “joint *Superintendents*” (Bishops) “over our Brethren in N. America,”

A matter of vast magnitude has long hung upon my mind, which now I cannot refrain from speaking a few words upon. That is:—considering the Nature, Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments and Episcopacy of the United Brethren, I have always wished that some terms of communion or a *concordat* could be settled between *you* and *us*. Nothing delights me more than to look back upon the Multitude of the believers of one heart and of one mind. At this our blessed Saviour eminently aimed when He prayed so fervently and often (St. John 17) for the Unity of His Body the Church. I am much afraid that the deceivers who in vain tempted the Master, but alas! succeeded better in tempting the Servants has taught too frequently in the

and enunciated the principle and policy to be followed in government and ritual, have been found folded together among Ettwein's papers in the archives at Bethlehem.

It is striking that the dilatory methods of the Anglican Hierarchy at the time were the cause of the course of action determined upon by both sides, each in its own way. Dr. Seabury, elected first Bishop of Connecticut in 1783, after waiting at London a year for consecration, finally got what he sought of the Scottish Bishops, whose position was such that they had nothing to lose or to gain by "considerations."

Wesley, in the letter above referred to, states in reply to the proposition to have the English Bishops ordain them preachers for America: 1. "I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings, and the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them, and how grievously would this entangle us."

So instead of following the course of the clergy of Connecticut and Dr. Seabury, which gave rise to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, he concluded that Presbyters could, on Apostolic principle, ordain their brethren to the ministry, and that Bishops were only Presbyters specially appointed to oversight, took the matter into his own hands, and through Coke and Asbury established the Methodist Episcopal Church and ministry in the United States. It is interesting that later plans looking to a reunion of the two great bodies through the intervention of Bishops of the Moravian Church, standing in a peculiar manner between the two, were proposed.

In the letter referred to, Wesley says: "I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national church in the world) which I advise all the traveling preachers to use on the Lord's Day in all Congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying *ex tempore* on all other days."

He also adds this note: "If any one is minded to dispute about Diocesan Episcopacy, he may dispute; but I have better work."

Christian School, and caused many groundless separations in the Christian Church.

But lamenting the evil is nothing. Much better me thinks it is to try to remove it. And were all the Clergy upon the Continent, of whatever name or denomination to lay each aside something, and meet each other by innocent concessions, would not that mightily persuade others that we act from principle and a general desire of restoring Unity and of a consequence a greater degree of Charity than is compatible with differing opinions and differing modes of worship. I thought I would venture this application to you, because the Unitas Fratrum, being so nearly allied to us, the difficulty would be less than where the differences are greater. Would it be agreeable to you to treat a little farther on this subject?—Farewell—let us pray for each other. May God direct us all in promoting His glory by forwarding the salvation of mankind.

I am with all Christian

Love and Esteem

Newport

R^t Rev^d & Dr Sir

14 March 1792.

Yours &c—

WILLIAM SMITH.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

Rev^d W^m Smith, Newport, Rhode Island.

Rev^d and Dear Sir,

I received your much esteemed favour of March 14th on the 31st of March, and find with pleasure that you go on in studying the H. Scriptures for your own benefit & the edification of others. May the Lord and His Spirit assist you in your labour and bestow His blessing on it in a rich measure.

There is an excellent preface to a small octavo Bible printed in London 1698 by John Canne, on the principle that the Scripture is the best Interpreter of Scripture.

It is surely our duty to stick as long as possible to the first & original meaning of the words & not to admit a strange or particular exposition of phrases except where they are against sound reason and the analogy of faith. It is a grievous observation that the most Unbelief and the greatest enmity against Christ in this hour of temptation is found in the Clerical Order who have

studied Theology, but do not love Christ, the Sum and substance of the H. Scriptures, & do not like the Doctrine of Christ & his Apostles because it will not square with their carnal mind and vain Philosophy. Critical and historical dissertations will have little effect with such. They will not thank you for placing a candle to every dark place where they usually stumble, as long as they resist the Holy Ghost when He reproves them of Unbelief.

Without regeneration there is no inclination to faith, no love of Gospel Truth, no delight in the written Word of God. If the Clergy did seek the kingdom of God, repent and believe the Gospel themselves, and then speak because *they* believe, things would soon have a better aspect in the Christian world.

But it is the Gift of God that we believe on his Son, Jesus Christ, and can say: This is my Lord and God who redeemed me a lost and undone human creature. I believe that by my own reason and strength I cannot believe in or come to Jesus Christ my Lord, but that the Holy Ghost calleth me by the Gospel, enlighteneth me with His gifts, sanctifieth and preserveth me in the true faith, and I can pity all who listen more to the old serpent, than God the Holy Ghost in explaining the Word of God. Let us pray for them that the Father may manifest His dear Son unto them.²⁸

²⁸ The apprehensive interest excited in the minds of Christian scholars a hundred years ago by the propensity to tamper with Scripture translations appears from the subjoined communication in the handwriting of Dr. Morse (see page 43), preserved among Bishop Ettwein's papers with the following memorandum by him, "read in the conference 16th and answered 24th of July." The copy of his answer cannot be found. It also furnishes an interesting evidence of the ideas which in those early days of the Republic prevailed among some in reference to the function of Congress in matters of religion.

" Boston 24th June 1790.

Rev^d Sir,

The Congregational Ministers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts assembled in Boston on the 27th of May 1790, Noted,

'That the Rev^d Doct^r Willard, Doct^r Howard, Mr Morse, Mr Payson & Mr Thatcher be a Committee in the Name and behalf of the Congregational Ministers of this Commonwealth, in Convention assembled, to prepare, sign and transmit to the Congress of the United States, a Petition, requesting the attention of that Honorable Body, to the subject of the several impressions of the Bible now making; representing the importance of accuracy in those

As to the other part of your letter, calling upon me to say something about the groundless separations of the Visible Christian Church, and the ways and means to remove them, and as it were, settling some articles of peace between the different Denominations particularly yours and the United Brethren's Episcopal Churches, I find myself not at all qualified or fit to give advice or to be instrumental in such a long wished for accommodation, Brotherly Unity or Uniformity. I know of several attempts to unite the established Religions in Germany, but all have proved hitherto lost labor. I, for my part, can view the variety of forms with great veneration as in the Wisdom of God permitted to a good end. Tho' contrary to the Admonition of St. Paul, I Cor. 1, 10, we see in the same chapter that in the time of the Apostles such distinctions already began. Can we not compare them to the different Tables in the Parable of the Marriage feast? Can we not liken them to different mansions in the house of our Heavenly Father? To the different languages, dialects and tongues in the world? There is a blessing in them all, and

impressions; and earnestly praying that they would take such measures as the Constitution may permit, that no Edition of the Bible or its Translation be published in America without its being carefully inspected & certified to be free from error.'

Noted, 'That the same persons be a Committee to apply to the Representative Bodies of the other Denominations of Christians in America & to request their assistance & support in accomplishing so important and desirable an object.'

Agreeable to the first of the above Notes we have forwarded a petition to Congress, praying that they would take into their consideration the interesting matter of printing the Bible, and direct to such measures as, in their Wisdom, may be thought proper to secure the Public from impositions by inaccurate and mutilated Editions of it.

We consider this as a subject which equally concerns all Denominations of Christians, as we all appeal to the Holy Bible as the Standard of Truth. It is unquestionably of the highest importance, that this acknowledged fountain of Truth, be preserved pure and uncorrupted. This will not probably be the case if the matter is left wholly to the Printers.

We therefore, as Friends and Brethren united in promoting the same general cause, and as jointly concerned in preserving the purity of the Holy Scriptures, do, in behalf of the Convention, earnestly request that the Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, would concur with us [i. e. Episcopal and non-Episcopal Protestants in all branches unite] in petitioning Congress, that they would so far interpose their Authority as to prevent in-

each of these noble old buildings and cathedrals deserves esteem. I don't like that Spirit which says, they are all alike to me, which flows from a contempt of all.

It is certainly a most amiable and delightful representation to behold in spirit the first Christian Church, which was to be the pattern of all Christian Assemblies. We pray that all the Children of God may be united in one Spirit. The lack of Uniformity in Rites, Ceremonies, Discipline and outward Order can be no hindrance to the execution of our Master's last Will and Testament, John 17, viz.—to love one another sincerely, and to abide in one Mind, the Mind of Christ.

Every living Member of that Body whereof Christ is the Head, is disposed and inclined to it, and if we remain as branches in Him the Vine, his prayer is fulfilled. This is the Holy Catholic Church in which I believe, the Communion of Saints, the Church which God bought with His own blood. This Church has continued since the days of the Son of Man and will continue untill

accurate Editions of the Bible. It was the wish of the Convention to have written in the first Instance to the Representative Body of your Church, & the other Representative Bodies of Christians in the several States, requesting that Committees might be appointed by each to confer and unite with us in our Petition, and thus to concentrate the whole Christian Interest in America. But to accomplish this desirable object would have taken a long time, and it was thought the business was of immediate importance, as proposals for several Editions of the Bible are now in circulation.

We take this opportunity to express our sincere desire to cultivate a friendly & Christian intercourse with the ministers of your Denomination, as we are firmly persuaded that such an intercourse between Christians of different Denominations and Sentiments would have a happy tendency to harmonize them, to remove unreasonable prejudices, to promote a spirit of candour and love, and thus essentially serve the Intent of our Holy Religion. It might also have a beneficial influence on the civil affairs of our Country.

We wish you Sir to communicate the foregoing to the Representative Body of your Church, as soon as you have opportunity.

Wishing prosperity to the kingdom of our common Lord and Saviour, we are, Reverend Sir,

Your Brethren in Christ,

JOSEPH WILLARD	} Committee
PHILLIPS PAYSON	
SIMEON HOWARD	
PETER THATCHER	
JED ^H MORSE	

Rev^d Mr Etwine, Bethlehem.

He comes again, and all the powers of Hell shall not prevail against this Congregation of Christ.

Who is or is not a member of it, God only knows, the Lord knows His own and knows where they dwell. It would be a pleasure to all who interest themselves in the cause of Christ and His Kingdom, to see many Congregations or Societies collected here and there in the Christian World, resembling that unseen Church of God in her faith, love and obedience. The contemplation of the Church, out of all Kindred and Nations, and the assurance that I am a living Member of that Body, is a great joy and comfort to me, when I cannot forbear to see how many show it by the fruits they bear, that they are not of the household of faith, no sheep following the great Shepherd, though they be Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Calvinists, being alienated from the life of God thro' ignorance that is in them.

Charity makes me hope that the prayer of my Lord & God, in His pangs of death, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," will save many where mercy can plead ignorance.

Dear Sir, you see I am very open, & perhaps rather too free with my sentiments.²⁹ The one thing needful is to come to Christ, to love Him and by faith to be a partaker of all that He is and all that He has.

That you may always by the instruction of the Holy Scriptures & from Experience, speak of the love of God towards us fallen creatures and of the atonement made by the blood of the Lamb of God, our Peace with a joyful spirit, to the blessing of your hearers, shall continue my prayer. Pray also for me,

Your humble Serv^t

[May 4, 1792]

JOHN ETTWEIN

²⁹ It is interesting to note how Ettwein repudiated the idea that any outward polity, ritual, formulated confession or hierarchical pedigree constitutes its adherents necessarily members of the true Church, thus testifying on the one hand against those who consider the creation of outward denominations the supreme heresy, and on the other hand, against those who fanatically magnify denominational distinctions and thus aggravate schisms, while at the same time he dissents emphatically from those who affect to despise denominational standards, or to treat their distinctions with indifference. His position is that toward which the best thought of all denominations in modern times is moving in the discussion of these vexed questions, that which seeks a sound basis of unity in diversity. In reading the latter part of this letter it must be remembered that a man of seventy years was addressing one of thirty-eight.

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rt Rev^d & dear Sir,

Your truly primitive³⁰ and much esteemed favours came safe to my hands, & I have thus long delayed my acknowledging the receipt of the same till I have got a safe conveyance by the Bearer.

No less striking than melancholy are the remarks contained in the first part of your letter, concerning the infidelity and consequent enmity of many clerical gentlemen to the heart-cheering doctrines of the cross, and the Redemption which is in and through the God-man, Jesus Christ. And if we search into the general cause (as to particular or concurring causes, they may be equally impossible to be investigated as removed) I believe I shall find it in the commonly received plan of Education at most of our Schools & Colleges. A boy is trained up to think of nothing but Heathen Mythology, his mind is alienated from God insensibly to the contemp'tation of those who are no Gods, but as St Paul asserts, "Devils"—regardless of the beauties of Divine poetry, the Psalms, Isaiah, & Jeremiah's plaintive Lamentations, the Teacher tries to impress his pupil with the most exalted and indelible ideas of the sublimity and elegance of his favorite heathen Authors—the gilded pill goes down—the taste for criticism secures the hold already gained by this deceptive mode of education—& the clearest and most luminous Revelations of the true God are eclipsed, in the eye of the critic and the reasoner by the gaudy decorations of Fable, setting forth to their distempered fancy those which are false and imaginary. If the Languages cannot be learned by Christian Students without the aid of Pagan Greece and Rome, why cannot the Divine Scriptures in their Original Languages be suffered to unfold *their* beauties and have at least a fair chance of rivalry with these *poisonous* and bewitching fables?

Nor has the present system of Philosophy and Mathematics any better effect—the Tree of Knowledge still appears pleasant to the eye but, alas! Knowledge makes not the man of God perfect, & the complete Scholar may fall short of the Kingdom of Heaven.

³⁰ Of apostolic spirit.

Without the enlightening influence of God the Holy Ghost, the benighted mind of man must remain in darkness; and as all celestial knowledge comes from this source and from this source only, blind are they and miserably deceived who imagine their own power can enlighten their darkness. May Jesus the Light of the Gentiles & the Glory of Israel have mercy on such and grant them a better mind.

Perhaps the principal difficulty of uniting the several Churches whose *faith* and *doctrines* are the same (I speak not of Rites and Ceremonies or even of modes of performing Divine Worship provided they be analogous to one another) may in some measure be owing to some latent principles, it may be even of piety and zeal for our Maternal church, lest such an union should swallow up that and absorb her individual existence. I own no one zealous for his Maternal church but must recoil at this idea. But on my plan, I would have no individual Branch of this proposed Unity to interfere with or infringe upon the *Principia* or fundamentals either relating to Discipline or Doctrine, but to be on such a charitable footing as to hold communion with each other in the mutual participation of Sacraments and Holy Orders, in sending and receiving Ambassadors to General Synods, & thus preserving the outposts of the Unity of the Spirit & the Bond of Peace.

Your candor and openness to me will Sir, I trust apologize for speaking so freely my thoughts, nay wishes on this important head. I cannot but dwell upon the concluding part of my Redeemer's address to His Father:—*That They may be ONE in us, that the World may know* (or rather acknowledge) *that Thou hast sent me*. Pray excuse the trouble I give you with my propositions, proceeding as I trust from my Zeal for the honor of our blessed common Lord & the happiness of His members. Imploping the Angel that conducts Joseph like a Sheep to guide you through this life, leading many Sons and Daughters along with you into the life of Glory, I am Rt.Rev^d & Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

Newport,
the 1st Sept. 1792.

Servant in Christ,

WILLIAM SMITH.

[No further correspondence between this date and August, 1794, has been preserved, though it was evidently continued during this interval.]

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rt Reverend & Dear Sir,

Your last letter containing a definition of the word *Church* came safe to my hands. It was highly acceptable, as indeed every sentence that comes from your pen. Your definition respecting immediately that saying of the Apostle Peter, "Every one that worketh righteousness is accepted with Him," & that of St Paul, "he never left himself without a witness," was exceedingly just & proper; and mine was no less true, but more particularly restricted and circumscribed by the idea of the needless divisions and separations among professing Christians—the daily starting of new and contradictory opinions, forgetful as it were that "Christian is the highest style of man" & paying no heed to that prophetic warning against division and departure from the truth of the Gospel, "It must be that there be heresies among you, that they who are among you may be made manifest."

Of this I am fully persuaded, that did Christian Charity operate as much in practice as it seems to do in theory, the Union of Christians on proper principles would not be so interrupted as it is; we would all more and more aim at Unity, we would all remember that Dis-Unity or a want of harmony is highly detractive from the evidence to the truth of the Incarnation of JESUS, who in his celebrated prayer in the 17th of St John's Gospel makes this UNITY or ONENESS a standing testimony of his being come in the flesh—"that they all may be ONE &c that the world may BELIEVE that THOU hast SENT ME."

To promote this Unity, and to adduce my evidence to the glorious truth that "the Father sent the Son to be the propitiation for us" has ever been, and by God's help shall ever be the general tenor of my praying, preaching and course of life. And in a particular manner I long to see a nearer intimacy established between your churches and ours. There have some time ago been propositions made from the Methodists to unite with us & I am in hopes that God's good Spirit will teach both them and us how to accomplish this Union and to render it permanent. The doctrinal points that lie in the way of bringing together both the *Unitas Fratrum*, the *Methodists* and *Our Churches* into *one great Communion*, in my humble opinion may be very easily recon-

ciled; as to Government or internal Police [Discipline] let that be as may be judged best by each branch of the general Unity.

And O! how happy were it for that man, whosoever he is, that shall be anywise instrumental in uniting so many Christians in a Visible Union in the Body of Christ and thereby cut off every appearance of Sectarianism from those who are so nigh to each other already, every ground of dispute about *name* or in support of discriminating principles. Blessed be he for whom this great and good work is prepared!

I seem as if I could never give over writing on this subject—but for the present I stop, and now begin to talk with your Reverence on another in which I am, in proportion to its magnitude, interested, and shall esteem it no small satisfaction, if I can engage that unmerited friendship you have from our first acquaintance always shown me, to take a part. The subject is the education of some motherless &, except their surviving parent, friendless females. One of the Vestrymen of my church, Major John Handy, a respectable member of civil society as well as a warm friend to Christianity has lately in the course of God's Providence, been deprived of his wife & left to act in the twofold capacity of Father and Mother in behalf of ten children, eight of whom are females. To assist and counsel him, this worthy Gentleman has no near relation, all of them being removed hence either by death or worldly connection, except an elderly Lady, his Mother-in-law, and a younger brother, both in this place. Both he and his children therefore are evidently in peculiarly delicate and afflicting circumstances. He finds no comfort in the idea of educating his children, particularly the girls, but in committing them to the tuition of the Bethlehem School, on which he is altogether determined as they grow up & become fit for being sent. At present he proposes sending three of his daughters, the one 8, the other 10, & the other 13 years, provided there is room for them.

Children left as they are stand in need of every assistance from humanity & benevolence; and a parent left with eight motherless female children has a right to every compassionate and helping hand; & therefore with a person of your paternal feelings & long experience of the various vicissitudes of this mortal life, persuasions to comply with our wishes are altogether unnecessary.

From an information of my good Brother Frederick [Schmidt] that Bethlehem School is so full, as with extreme difficulty to receive any more young Misses, & that there are many upon the admission list in waiting I write thus earnestly; but I hardly think that there are any of those expectants whose situation (all things put together) so loudly bespeaks admission as those three Misses in behalf of whom I now write. To a parent not yet 40 years old, with no friend or near relation to assist him personally in educating eight daughters this is a very momentous task, and to be effected on this plan with any propriety is next to impossible. Farewell, Sir, let me hear from you on this subject as soon as you can make it convenient.

Mr. Handy proposes bringing his daughters some time in the month after next. The sooner your letter of advice comes, the more time there will be to prepare them. I beg my love to the good Gentleman who attended you here. Mrs. Smith joins in best wishes to yourself. May the great Shepherd of the Sheep preserve you and all the faithful with you, both Soul, Body & Spirit blameless to the day of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and present you and all other his redeemed ones, with joy unspeakable before his Father's throne is the continued prayer of

Rt Rev^d & Dear Sir

Your most affectionate Br. in Christ

& Son in the work of the Lord,

Newport

2nd August 1794.

WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—I have now in the hands of the Engraver and Printer the hymns of our morning and evening prayers set to their respective chants, together with 35 original hymns (all in prose according to the primitive custom) adapted to all our festivals, selected from Scripture, and set to music likewise.

The edition of this work is to be 1000 copies, at 2 sh. each to Subscribers.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

18. Aug. 1794.

Rev^d and Dear Sir,

I received your favour of the 2nd inst. enclosed in a letter from M^r Handy with an application for the admission of his Daughters into our boarding School for Girls. I also

communicated your Letter to the Inspector, the Rev^d Jacob Van Vleck, who will answer Mr. Handy's Letter. The School is quite full and there are so many applications on the List of the Inspector that if he will strictly follow the Rules of admission, he cannot promise one place for a very long time. But he has in several such Instances made some exception in favour of Widowers, and will also do for M^r Handy as much as he possibly can do.³¹

I love and revere your pious zeal to promote a visible Union among the Episcopalians, Methodists, etc. It would certainly be an honour to Christianity if all Dissensions did vanish.

But I doubt of seeing that time and fear that nothing less than a general persecution of true believers will make us all unite under one Banner of Christ, to confess Him our glorious Head and Chief, our Lord, our God, our Redeemer.

It seems the time of the great Apostacy, foretold by the Holy Spirit & the Apostles of our Lord, is come. The Lord of Glory who has bought us with His own blood to be His people is by many desired. Therefore all who profess themselves to be His Servants shall unite and stand firm to the Truth against all Enemies of Christ and the sure Word of God. If our fellowship is with God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, we shall certainly be in his eyes one Soul, Body & Spirit, tho' we are called and distinguished by this and another name. The new Society in New York where the Ministers of all the Churches in that City have united for promoting Christian Knowledge & piety, confessing the essential Truths of our Holy Religion, gives a good prospect of that Unity you are wishing and labouring for.³²

³¹ The names of three of his daughters, Mary, Jane and Mehitabel, appear in the catalogue of the school as entered in 1794.

³² The New York Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and Piety in 1795 sent a letter to the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen proposing to enter into fraternal correspondence. This letter was read at the sixth general meeting of the S. P. G. held at Bethlehem on Aug. 21 of that year. A copy of the reply, dated Sept. 12 and signed by John Ettwein, Pres. *p. t.* and Jacob Van Vleck, Secretary, giving a historical sketch and general survey of the Missions of the Moravian Church then existing, and a statement of the manner in which they were supported and administered, is preserved among Ettwein's papers, together with a copy of the Articles of the N. Y. Association in German.

I will continue to wish and pray that the glorious time may soon come, when all true believers, as one flock, shall be manifested, under Christ the only Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls. By faith in our Lord Jesus Christ you and I and Frederick Smith will be and remain this Body's Members, firmly united in Him. Without Him can be no true Unity or Oneness so ardently prayed for by Him, John 17.

In this bond of love I remain

Rev^d & Dear Sir

Your affectionate Br in Christ
and Fellow laborer in the Work,

JOHN ETTWEIN.

P. S.—Br Frederick Smith will be directed to subscribe for some of your new Hymn books.

PRESIDENT STILES²⁰ OF YALE COLLEGE TO FREDERICK SCHMIDT.

YALE COLLEGE, FEBRY 10, 1787.

Reverend & Dr Sir

Altho I received your Letter of 14th June with the two Books on 19th July following yet I deferred an Answer until our Commencement in September, when I might have Opportunity to inform the Fellows of the College at their anniversary Meeting, and in their Name express our Gratitude and Thanks for the Donation of the Volume of Reverend Bp.

²⁰ Dr Ezra Stiles, who was President of Yale College from 1778 to his death in 1795, has been called "the most learned and accomplished divine in his day in this country." He gave much attention to various scientific subjects, and was the first man in New England to follow up Franklin's discoveries and experiment with electricity. He also did much towards introducing and developing new industries, hence his interest in silkworm culture, as shown in his correspondence with Bishop Ettwein. His acquaintance with the Brethren dated from the period of his long pastorate at Newport, 1756-77. He visited Bethlehem and Nazareth in 1791.

The Rev. Frederick Schmidt, who delivered the books referred to for Ettwein, with the compliments of the Brethren at Bethlehem, was born at Lübeck in Holstein, August 4, 1724, joined the Brethren 1739, served the Church in Germany, Holland, England and Ireland, was ordained a Deacon in England in 1761, married the widow Gross at Herrnhut, 1764, and then came with her to America, was stationed at Newport, R. I. 1764-66, where his wife died 1765, was married again 1766 to Sarah Bailey at Bethlehem, labored at Oldman's Creek, N. J. 1766-83, and then a second time at New-

Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, and Mr. Cranz's History of the Brethren, which Donation was very acceptable. And I have it in Command to return the Thanks of the President and Fellows or Corporation of the University to the Unitas Fratrum at Bethlehem for the Gratuity and Benefaction with which they have honoured us; and to inform them that the Books are deposited in their Name in the public Library.

You will be pleased, Sir, to express this to them, and also to accept the Thanks of the College yourself for your kind and friendly Offices upon this Occasion. I count it a happy Circumstance in my Life that previous to my Removal to the Presidency of this College, I should have had an Acquaintance at Newport with the Brethren there, and particularly with yourself and the venerable Mr. Russmeyer. I thence learned not only favourable but very friendly and fraternal Ideas of the Constitution of the UNITED BRETHREN; and for a long time have had and still have a cordial Affection for them, & esteem them a pure & excellent Branch of the Christian Church. As Professor of Ecclesiastical History in this College I exhibit the Hist^y of the Church for the three first Centuries—the Period of the Reformation—the American Churches of all Denominations. I finish this course once in three or four years in weekly public Lectures in the College Chapel before the whole Body of Students. I make it a part of

port, 1783–1803, having been ordained a Presbyterian at Bethlehem 1790, retired 1803 to Hope, N. J. where he died October 11, 1805. He had no children.

The Rev. Albrecht Ludolf Russmeyer was the son of an attorney-at-law in Lüneburg, Hannover, where he was born March 14, 1715, his mother being of a French Huguenot family. He was educated at the Latin school of his native village and under the care of an uncle, a Doctor of Theology at Greifswalde, his father having died, and later lived eight years with this uncle studying jurisprudence and theology. There he met David Nitschmann and was attracted to the Brethren's Church. He went to Herrnhaag 1748, spent several years in the Theological Seminary at Marienborn and Barby, went to England, 1752, came to America 1753, was ordained a Deacon February 24, 1754, and served as German preacher in Philadelphia till May, married Mary Evans at Bethlehem, July 15, 1754, was stationed at Lancaster 1755, later for several years at Warwick (Lititz), 1762 again at Lancaster, ordained Presbyterian May 16, 1762, stationed at Newport, R. I. 1766–83, then *ad interim* five months in New York, a third time at Lancaster till February 1786, when he retired to Lititz where he died July 4, 1797. Of his four children only one daughter survived. She was married to Christian Schropp.

these Lectures to give the History of the Ancient Bohemian Ch. and the present Unitas Fratrum.

May I assure the Brethren that my Representations of them are friendly, fraternal and honorable. And this I do from no other Motive than sincere Affection to a Fraternity among whom I believe the Love of Jesus reigns in genuine Purity and Simplicity. May the Divine Immanuel ever dwell among them, influence & cement & bless them. My soul unites with them in loving the Lover of Souls, and in adoring the immaculate Lamb of God, the glorious Redeemer who has purchased the Church with His own Blood.

My Respects to your amiable Consort. I ask your Intercessions at the Throne of Grace for Dr Sir

Your unworthy Brother in Christ
and affectionate Friend,

EZRA STILES.

ETTWEIN TO PRESIDENT STILES.

Dr Ezra Stiles, Yale College New Haven, Conn.

Rev^d Sir,

Your favour with some Silk Worm Eggs arrived in Bethlehem May 9 when the Worms just began to creep out.

Some years ago I raised a good deal of Silk in my family, but my visit in Europe and my Wife's decease caused me to drop it. [He attended the General Synod of 1789 at Herrnhut, during which his wife died.] One of our Brethren at Nazareth [David Zeisberger,] has continued to do something in that way, but finding his worms to degenerate he applied to Mr. Nathanael Green of Newport to provide him new Seed, which he received by your favour. He told me that his New England Worms seemed much stronger than his Nazareth brood. He tends the Worms himself, reels the Cocoons and prepares the Silk for the needle, and has promised me a specimen of it for you when he has finished for this year.

I am

June 24, 1793

Rev^d Sir

your humble Serv^t

JOHN ETTWEIN

P. S. Excuse me that I did not sooner acknowledge the Receipt of yours.

I was absent from Bethlehem several weeks.

3. AUG. 1793.

Doct^r Ezra Stiles,
Rev^d Sir,

In a former letter I informed you of the receipt of the Silkworm Eggs. We had a wet Season which is unfavourable for raising Silkworms. But Mr. Zeisberger²¹ at Nazareth was nevertheless pretty lucky with the N. England Seed. He sent me the enclosed silk for you as a small return for the Eggs. Mr. Gervais of N. York is so kind as to take it from me to forward to you.

I sent some time ago by way of N. York a Packet to M^r Benjamin Trumbull²² at North Haven containing answers to some questions for a General History of America. I fear he has not received it and I should be sorry if it had been lost.

Wishing you all desirable Blessing
I remain with Love & Esteem
Your humble Serv^t

[JOHN ETTWEIN]

I was in Lititz last May and saw Mr & Mrs Russmeyer,²³ happy and in tolerably good health. Remembering our outward [distant] friends, Lovers and Confessors of Christ, your dear name was not forgot and Mr Russmeyer desired me since they heard I had a letter from you, if I should write to M^r E. Stiles to remember their sincere and affectionate Respect and Love to him.²⁴

²¹ A son of Melchior Zeisberger, one of the five "Kirchenmänner" who figure in the history of May 12, 1724, and a cousin of the distinguished missionary of the same name, born at Herrnhut May 25, 1730, ordained a Deacon July 5, 1756, came to America 1761, served the church at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, ordained a Presbyter May 7, 1780, finally located at Nazareth as "Gemeinhelfer" or Senior Minister, where he died May 19, 1798.

²² See Ettwein's letter to Dr. Trumbull with note.

²³ See letter of President Stiles to the Rev. Frederick Schmidt with note.

²⁴ The several letters of Dr. Stiles to Bishop Ettwein have disappeared, probably, like many other letters, by the hands of autograph hunters, in the days when matter of this kind was at the mercy of persons with more antiquarian taste than conscience.

The traditional inclination to experiment in silk worm culture lingered about Bethlehem and Nazareth until far into the present century. A monograph on the subject of the silk industry at Bethlehem and neighborhood, from the establishment of Christian Philip Bader's cocoonery in the Brethren's House in 1752, to the erection of John D. Cutter's silk mill in 1888, is in process of preparation for future publication.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH.³²

(A TRANSLATION.)

HISTORY OF THE SO-CALLED ST. JAMES' CHURCH (JACOBI KIRCHE)
IN WARWICK TOWNSHIP, LANCASTER COUNTY,
PENNSYLVANIA.

During the time that Mr. Lawrence Nyberg, a Swedish theologian, was Lutheran pastor at Lancaster and preached such stirring sermons, a number of awakened persons frequently went from Warwick Township to Lancaster to hear him.

They entered into an agreement to build a church near George Klein's farm for Mr. Nyberg to preach in.

George Klein, John Bender, Jacob Scherzer and Hartman Verdriess took the lead in this undertaking, and a number of persons from among the Reformed and the Mennonites who heard him with pleasure supported it. Mr. Nyberg consecrated the church on St. James' Day (July 25), 1744, and for this reason it came to be called St. James' Church. As long as he remained in the neighborhood he preached in it once or twice a month to a mixed multitude, consisting of Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites and Dunkards. Leonhard Schnell, [David] Bruce and other Brethren who passed that way also preached in it, and in the following year 1745 Daniel Neubert came from Bethlehem to live there, at the solicitation of the awakened persons in the neighborhood. George Klein, Scherzer, Kiesel, Heie and others built a school house and meeting house on George Klein's land, one mile from the church.

³² This Church is mentioned in the *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz, 1742-75*, by H. A. Brickenstein, Transac. Hist. Soc. Vol. II, p. 344, and in *The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum) commonly called Moravians, in North America, A.D. 1734-1748*, by L. T. Reichel, p. 189. The details given in this sketch, written by Bishop Ettwein about 1785, are not known to have been published elsewhere.

When Mr. Nyberg did not come to preach Daniel Neubert usually delivered a discourse in the church on Sunday, but did not go into the pulpit because he was not ordained and had not been educated for the ministry.

Because Mr. Nyberg associated with the United Brethren and attended their Synod in Lancaster, his opponents would no longer permit him to preach in the Lutheran Church in Lancaster, and so he entered into full connection with the Brethren.³³

Thereupon his adherents in Warwick agreed together to take up the land on which St. James' Church stood and thus get possession of the church. To this end George Klein, John Bender and Jacob Scherzer had secured a warrant for three acres of land. Being informed that they could not get a patent for so small a piece of land, George Klein, with the concurrence of the others, included it in a survey which he had made for himself on a warrant for thirty acres. William Parson made a memorandum to the return with which the warrant for the three acres was sent, to the effect that George Klein, by agreement with the Congregation, had included the three acres in his survey, and that if George Klein produced written evidence of such agreement the three acre warrant should be null and void. Inasmuch as George Klein had secured a patent for thirty-two and a half acres in which the three acres were included, and a marginal note "not to issue" was made in the warrant book to the three acre warrant, it would be supposed that satisfaction had been rendered at the time; and it is inconceivable how, after the lapse of thirty-eight years, a disturber of the peace who had nothing to do with the matter should get possession of the three acre warrant. George Klein executed a conveyance of two parcels of ground for religious purposes. The names of the petitioners for the three acre warrant and the names of those to whom he made the conveyance reveal what was intended for a Lutheran Congregation.

Why no declaration of trust exists I do not know. So much I do know, however, that at that time, or during the time immediately subsequent, many Brethren were of the opinion that all titles to such lands were more securely vested in one or another Brother in whom confidence could be placed and from whom a declaration of trust was taken, than in a number of elected Trus-

³³ See note page 54.

tees who, if they happened to be put under Church discipline, might become disaffected and gather a faction, of which they had an instance at that very time in Tulpehocken. I presume that on this account, and because Mr. Nyberg had removed out of the country and gone to England, George Klein included the land intended for a church and school house in the deed which he made for all of his lands to Timothy Horsefield. The Warwick Brethren's Congregation has had peaceable possession of the church and of the land for thirty-eight years. No Lutheran pastor or member of the Lutheran Church in the Township has ever wasted a word about it.

About twenty years ago when the wooden church had become very much dilapidated the minister requested the congregation to repair it, and especially to put a new roof on it. But because their regular services were now held in Lititz, and the church was only made use of on the occasion of funerals, standing as it did alongside of the graveyard, they had no disposition to do so, and the minister had to consent to the action of the Stewards or Church Wardens, who sold the timber in it that was yet sound for £10 and used the money in the removal of their school house to Lititz—which was done with the concurrence of the families who had contributed material to the building of the church, but had not connected themselves with the Congregation at Lititz.

The graveyard adjoining the church is yet set apart for the use of the Warwick families and is kept fenced and in order by them. In other particulars the Warwick congregation is connected with that of Lititz and has the same minister. For a long time a belligerent neighbor, Peter Weinland or Weiland, has sought to vex the Brethren in Lititz, and wanting to trench upon the tract sold by George Klein but unable to do so because of the older warrant and patent of George Klein, he tries to gain his point with this church land. Besides this a certain Doctor Freylinghausen, who came to Lititz with an affected air of piety and wished to locate and practice there but was not admitted, entered into an agreement with a neighboring resident, John Huber, and the three formed a plan to recover the above mentioned three acres of land. The Doctor pretended that he wished to purchase it of the Lutheran Congregation or to pay a liberal ground rent and build upon it, and the effort was made to enlist the support of

several Lutheran people. The Doctor is a Lutheran but not a resident. Jacob Huber, the father of John, having formerly been a Mennonite and latterly connected with no denomination, there are doubts as to whether John has been baptized. At all events, it is certain that he is not a member of the Lutheran Church unless he has just lately become one.

Peter Weinland was also connected with the Mennonites, but for many years past has held aloof from all religion and has borne a very questionable reputation throughout the neighborhood. John Huber got his brother-in-law, who is a warden in a Lutheran Congregation in a remote part of the township, involved in the affair. He however said at once [upon hearing the true state of things]: "If I had rightly understood the matter, I should not have come to Lititz on this account."

Warwick is a large township and the majority of the population are Mennonites, Brethren (Moravians) and Reformed. I am not unacquainted with the neighborhood of Lititz, and I would not know where to find even four or five Lutheran households who live within three miles of the place. At the township line in the direction of Elizabeth Furnace there is a Lutheran church which is ministered to, along with several others, by a certain Mr. Schultze. In the other direction towards Manheim there is a small tract of land donated for the purpose of a Lutheran church, the deed to which a certain N. N. has in custody.

Hitherto only educated Lutheran clergymen have visited Lititz. The Augsburg Confession is annually read as our confession of faith. Lutheran doctrine is preached there, and everybody is welcome to come and hear it gratis. If Lutheran neighbors should really be found who wish to bury their dead on that spot, a portion of it can be placed at their disposal. In that case, however, they should contribute towards maintaining the fences. Nay more, when on occasion of such funerals a Lutheran pastor from elsewhere wishes to preach a funeral sermon, the use of the church at Lititz will not be refused him by the minister there, unless there is some special reason for such refusal.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SENECA CHIEFS,
CORNPLANTER, HALF-TOWN, AND BIG-
TREE, AT PHILADELPHIA,
JANUARY 1791.³⁴

I had the pleasure of meeting three Seneca Chiefs at the house of the Governor and was asked to address them, as one of the Brethren in whom they would place confidence. I also called upon President Washington and expect to present a petition to the Assembly in reference to a tract of land for the use of the Indian Mission.

I addressed the Seneca Chiefs, Cornplanter, Half-Town and Big-Tree in the following words:

"Brothers! It is most pleasing to me that God our Lord has brought us together to-day in the city of Philadelphia, which means brotherly love, where we may converse together as friends.

"The Sachems and Headmen of the Six Nations and the Chiefs and Headmen of the United Brethren who live at Bethlehem made a treaty of friendship together nearly fifty years ago.

³⁴ In the Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. IV, under "Papers relating to the Defence of the Frontiers, 1790-1796," are published interesting reports of the Indian Conference at Philadelphia in January 1791, with the speeches of "Cornplanter, Half-Town and Big Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation to the great Councillor of the 13 fires," (the President of the United States), but one episode, the interview of Bishop Ettwein, representing the Society for Propagating the Gospel, with these Chiefs, as given above, which took place at the house of Governor Mifflin on the Festival of the Epiphany (Jan. 6), observed in the Moravian Church as a missionary day, is not mentioned. The above is Ettwein's report of the interview, sent to the Brethren at Bethlehem and preserved with the annexed extract from the *Daily Avertiser*, which, together with the reports in the Penna. Archives, and the interview had with the Chiefs by Ettwein with the sanction of the authorities, presents the better spirit which was permitted to prevail at times in transactions with the Indians a century ago.

"Several of our leading men visited the Senecas in their towns and a few of our Brethren lived some years in Onandaga in order to learn the Maqua language so that they could preach the word of God to the six nations, the Word which alone gives us wisdom in the things pertaining to our eternal welfare.

"Brothers! I am glad that God has opened your eyes to discern what is good for you and your children, and that He has inclined your hearts to follow the white people in establishing a settled mode of life, to secure teachers who will instruct your children in reading, writing and other useful things, and preachers who will proclaim the gospel among the Senecas.

"Brothers! Through me the United Brethren renew and again make manifest the bond of friendship with you in the presence of the Governor of this State. You can depend upon our sincere love and our readiness to serve you as far as God gives us ability.

"Brothers! If any of our Teachers, or any of the Christian Indians in fellowship with the United Brethren come among you, do not suspect them of evil but receive them with open arms as friends. For God's sake and for the sake of your own souls do not hinder the messengers of God in proclaiming the forgiveness of sins, eternal life and salvation to all who believe in the Name of Jesus Christ and are willing to learn His ways.

"Brothers! By your consent to have the Word of God preached to the Senecas you will make a great name for yourselves in time to come, you will save your nation and make it a happy people. My wish is that God our Saviour may grant you this together with all blessings you may desire for yourselves."

On January 14 the Seneca Chief Cornplanter, through his interpreter, Mr. Nicholson, said in reply :

"Father! We intended yesterday to give you a written reply, but failed to secure a clerk.

"Father! Your words are very good. They have pleased us and have been agreeable to us. When I reach home I will summon a great council and repeat your words to them. Your Brothers, if any of them come to us, shall be well received.

"I will make a good soft bed for them among those who are inclined to receive instruction until others also desire to learn.

"Father! When I have made a good bed, I will return you an explicit answer."

The interpreter said the meaning is that a place at which to preach and keep school shall be selected and set apart.

Mr. Allen said, to make a bed means among the Senecas to furnish a settled abode, but when they say "I will set you a chair," this merely signifies a kind reception for the time being.

EXTRACT FROM THE PHILADELPHIA DAILY ADVERTISER, MAY 5, 1791.

"The following Statement of the Transactions of the General Government in relation to the Indian Tribes will also furnish the means of forming just Ideas of the present posture of Indian affairs. The measures adopted by the General Government relative to the Indian Tribes within the limits of the U. S. are replete with moderation, justice and humanity. Philosophers and the intelligent part of the human race approve the wisdom of such conduct, while its opposers will consist entirely of people of a different description.

"Instead of an oppressive System having for its object the extirpation of a race of men more sinned against than sinning, it appears to be the design of the General Government to impart to the Indians, who were the original Lords of the Soil, all the blessings of life of which their Situation will admit, and to lead them by degrees to a more settled and civilized mode of existence.

"Waving the consideration of civilizing the Indians, which by many is deemed impracticable, the policy of observing a liberal and humane conduct towards them cannot be well denied. It may be safely affirmed that the expence of conciliating and attracting all the neighboring Indians to the Interest of the United States for a period of 50 years would not be so great as the expences of one campaign against either the Creeks or the Choctaws.

"The Treaty with the Creeks at New York on the 7th of August 1790 has been reprobated by Land jobbers, interested individuals and some of the Inhabitants of Georgia. But the enlightened Citizens of America highly approve of the Treaty, as the ground work of attaching the Creeks, and the whole body of Southern

Indians, to the Interests of the United States upon principles entitled to the approbation of the disinterested part of mankind.

"The supreme Executive of the U. S. has also taken measures to secure the Choctaws and Chikisaws in their attachment to the U. S. and a Treaty is to be held during the present year with the Cherokees. Indeed there is the finest prospect of not only making a permanent peace with all the Southern Nations of Indians, but of attaching them to the interest of the United States. The warriors of the Creeks are estimated at 6000, the Choctaws at 5000, the Chikisaws at 1300 and the Cherokees at 2500, in all nearly 15000 Warriors.

"The value of their friendship is to be estimated by the expence of their enmity, independent of the disgrace attendant upon the Injustice of attempting to deprive them of their lands against the faith of the United States stipulated by solemn Treaties. It were devoutly to be wished that, in turning our eyes to the regions N. W. of the Ohio, the same prospects of peace appeared.

"Notwithstanding the provocations of these Indians, it is said measures have been taken to open their eyes to their true situation and if possible to induce them to peace, without the necessity of an active campaign against them; but if the measures taken for this purpose should be in vain, the meekness of Christianity will justify the Government in taking effectual measures to prevent the murder of its peaceable citizens.

"The arrangements made, and which are in Train of Execution will in all probability be entirely adequate to the full conviction of the hostile Indians, that they have abundantly more to hope from the mercy than to expect from the weakness of the United States."

ETTWEIN TO BENJAMIN TRUMBULL.³⁵

MARCH, 1793.

Honoured Sir,

Here follows a brief Account of the Unitas Fratrum, in Answer to your Questions, received by the Brethren at Beth-

³⁵ The Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D.D. of North Haven, Conn., Grandfather of ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull, of Chicago, Ill. He was pastor at North Haven nearly sixty years. The second edition of his "*General History of the United States*," in 3 vol's, to which Bishop Ettwein contributed material, was published in 1810.

lehem from the Rev^d Mr Marshall in Philadelphia. I have tried to answer each fully and clearly, and by that I have been too prolix, which you will excuse. The intention is no other but to give you full information and materials from which you may take what you choose for your General History. It has been observed that many persons ground what they speak and write about the Brethren upon testimony of their Adversaries which is not true either in the whole nor in part. For instance Mr. Marshall has done so in his Catechism³⁶ and the Editors of a Magazine at Elizabethtown in New Jersey.

The United Brethren are therefore greatly obliged to you, Sir, that you were so kind as to desire the Brethren themselves to give you an Account of that which you wanted to know.

As the answers are partly taken from German publications, you will be kind enough to excuse the flaws and germanisms in the style.

Though they are not much polished, they are strictly true. Wishing you health and strength of soul and body to complete your General History, I am with high Esteem

Honoured Sir

Your humble Serv^t

JOHN ETTWEIN

³⁶ "Religious Instruction to the Rising Generation, a Catechism for Youth, containing the Principles of Practical Religion; Agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures Exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. To which is added Catechetical Explanation of Sundry Terms belonging to Religion, Alphabetically Digested: In which are specified the distinguishing Tenets of the various Denominations of Christians and religious Sects that now appear."

By William Marshall, A.M., Minister of the Gospel to the Scots Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: Printed for the Author and sold by Robert Aitkin, in Market Street. MDCCLXXXIV. 12mo., pp. iv, 172."